

East-Indies. - East India Company.



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A TRVE
RELATION
OF THE VNIVST,
CRVELL, AND BARBA-
ROVS PROCEEDINGS
against the ENGLISH at
AMBOYNA

*In the EAST-INDIES, by the Nea-
therlandish GOVERNOR and
COVNCILL there.*

Also the copie of a Pamphlet, set forth first
in Dutch and then in English, by some
Neatherlander; falsely entituled,

A TRVE DECLARATION OF THE
Newes that came out of the EAST-INDIES, with
the Pinace called the HARE, which ar-
riued at TEXELIDune, 1624.

Together with an Answer to the same PAMPHLET.

By the English EAST-INDIA Companie.

THE SECOND IMPRESSION.

Published by AVTHORITIE.

LONDON,

Printed by H. Lornes for Nathanael Newberry. 1624.

RELATION
OF THE VNI^{VS}T
OF THE VNI^{VS}T
OF THE VNI^{VS}T
OF THE VNI^{VS}T





TO THE READER.

DEntle Reader, thou maist (perhaps) wonder why this Relation of the businesse of Amboy-na, so many months since taken vpon the oaths & depositions of our people that came thence, and presented to his Majesty, and the Lords of his Priuy Councell; cometh now at last to the Presse, and was not either sooner published, or altogether suppressed. The truth is, the English East-India Company haue euer been very tender of the ancient amity and good correspondence held between this Realm and the Neatherlands, and haue been very loth, by diuulging of the priuate iniuries done them.

To the Reader.

them by the Neatherlands East-India Company, to giue the least occasion of any distaste or disaffection, which might haply growe betweene these two Nations, for the sake and on the behalfe of the two Companies respectiuely. For which cause, although the wrongs and iniuries, or rather contumelies done vnto the English by the Dutch in the Indies, haue beene as intolerable as manifold; as to say nothing of those great heapes of them buried in the Amnesty of the Treaty of the yeare 1619. and only to point at the generall heads of those committed since that Treaty, and grossely contrary to the maine intent, and expresse words and disposition of the same: first, in the point of hostility; the inuasion of the Islands of Lantore and Polarooone, then and before in the quiet possession of the English, in the name of the Crowne of England; the taking of the same Islands by force; the razing and demolishing of the English Forts; the binding of the English (that had not so much as resisted them) to stakes with ropes about their neckes, throttling them with the same, and flourishing their naked swords about them, as if they would presently haue dispatched them; then taking them so amazed and bound, and tumbling them downe the rockes; and after, carrying their crushed and bruised carcases away in irons: secondly, in the point

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point of their usurped ſoueraignty; their taking
vpon them the Comiſance of controuerſies between
the Engliſh and the Indians, for matters paſſed
farre without the compaſſe of the Neatherlands
pretended iuriſdiction, and executing their ſen-
tences therupon by plain force; ſeizing of the Eng-
liſh Companies goods; fining, imprisoning, ſtoe-
king, yea, whipping our people at a poſt in the open
market-place, and after, waſhing them with vi-
negar and ſalt: thirdly, in point of partnership
with the Engliſh; their putting great ſums to the
common account, which were diſburſed to the pri-
uate and ſole behoofe of the Dutch; giuing great
Presents for the glory of the Dutch, without con-
ſent of the Engliſh, and making warre for the in-
largement of their owne dominion, yet bringing
the charge to the common account; together with
infinite other the like, the particulars whereof
would ariſe to a juſt and ample volume: Neuer-
theleſſe, the Engliſh Company from time to time
contented themſelves with informing his Maieſtie
and his Honourable Priny Councell with their
grievances priuately in writing, to the end that ne-
ceſſary relief and reparation might bee obtained,
without publiſhing any thing to the world in print,
thereby to ſtir up or breed ill blood between theſe
Nations, which are otherwiſe tied in ſo many re-
ciprocall

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ciprocall obligations. And the same course they have hitherto holden also in this crying business of of Amboyna; onely offering to the Manes of their murdered Countrey-men, Factors and Kinsfolks, their effectuall endeavours in a dutiful course unto his Majesty, for justice for their innocent blood, and reparation of the honour of the nation heerein interested. In which their wonted way they were so constant, that they could not be driven out of the same by the contrary course of some of the other party; that not glutted nor mollified with the blood of these innocents, nor with all the other sufferings of the English in the Indies, published a Pamphlet in print in the Netherlands Language, not only in justification of this barbarous butchery, but with all in disgrace of the English Nation, and the laws and justice of the same. But behold now further, the same Pamphlet, being called in by an Edict of the States generall, was yet afterwards translated and printed in English, and dispersed even in this Realm it self, to braue and disgrace us at our own doores, and in our owne language. This, no English patience can bear: the bloud of the innocent cries out against it: the honor of the nation suffereth in it. Wherefore the English East-Indie Companie is heereby enforced, contrary to their desire and custome, to have recourse also to the Presse, to maintain

George A. A. taine

To the Reader.

tain the reputation of those their Countrey-men and servants, that lost their lives vnjustly; and to acquaint the world with the naked truth of this cause, hitherto masked, muffled, and obscured in a fog of fictions, concealments, and crafty connexions of the Author of this Pamphlet, and his clients the Gouvernor & Councel (so termed) of Amboyna.

Having thus acquainted thee, gentle Reader, with the reasons why this businesse was no sooner published in print, it remaineth yet further, that thou be satisfied in an objection or two more, which common reason will suggest vnto thee. Without doubt, reading this discourse, and being a true patriote of thine owne Countrey, and a well-willer of the Neatherlands (as we presume and wish thee to be), thou wilt wonder how it cometh to passe, that our Nation, which hath not been wont to receive such disgraces, should now be so weak & vnprovided in the Indies, as to suffer such indignities, and to be so grossly ouertopped, outraged & vilified there: as also thou wilt no lesse admire, that any of the Netberlands nation, which hath received such and so many fauors and supports from hence, and held so good & antient correspondence with our nation, should now offer & commit such odious contumelies on Englishmen, their partners & allies by speciall Treaty. Herein thou wilt soon answer thyself,

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selfe, if thou but consider the different end and designe of the English & Dutch Companies trading in the Indies, appearing by their severall course and practise respectively. The English being subjects of a peaceable Prince, that hath enough of his owne, and is therewith content, without affecting of new conquests; haue aymed at nothing in their East-India trade, but a lawfull and competent gaine by commerce and traffick with the people of those parts. And although they haue in some places builded Forts, and settled some strength, yet that hath not beene done by force or violence, against the good will of the Magistrates or people of the countrey; but with their desire, consent and good liking, for the security only of the Trade, and vpon the said Magistrate and peoples voluntarie yeelding themselves under the obedience and soveraignty of the Crown of England; their owne ancient lawes, customes and priuiledges, neuerthelesse reserved. Further, the same English had vndoubted confidence in the Neatherlands Nation there also trading, especially being lately conjoyned with them in the strict alliance and sociall confederacy of the year 1619. and therefore attended nothing from them, but the offices of good affection and partnership. Upon these grounds, the English Company made their equipages answerable only to a course.

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the course of commerce and peaceable traffick; not expecting any hostility, neither from the Indians, nor especially from the Dutch. On the other side, the Neatherlanders, from the beginning of their trade in the Indies, not contented with the ordinary course of a fair and free commerce, invaded diuers Islands, took some Ports, built others, and laboured nothing more, than the conquests of Countries, and the acquiring of new dominion. By reason whereof, as they were accordingly provided of shipping, souldiers, and all warlike prouision, as also of places of Rendeuoz vpon the shore, and thereby enabled to wrong the English as well as others: so the cost and charges of their shipping, Ports, and souldiers, imployed vpon these designes, rose to such an height, as was not to bee maintained by the trade they had in those parts. Wherefore, for a supply, they were forced (as some of their owne Countrymen and Aduenturers in their Company, affirm) to fish with dry nets, that is to say, to pick quarrels with the Indians, & so to take their ships, & make prize of their goods. Which yet not answering their charge and aduenture, they proceeded also to quarrell with the English, to debarre them of trade to free places; and for attempting such trade, to take their ships & goods. Touching which, when a good order was set by the said treaty of the yeer 1619.

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yet they saw, they could not make their reckoning to any purpose, vnlesse they vtterly draue the English out of the trade of those parts; thereby to haue the whole and sole traffick of the commodities of the Indies in these parts of Europe, in their owne hands; and so to make the price at their pleasure, sufficient to maintain & promote their conquests, and withall to yeeld them an ample benefit of their trading. Which vnlesse they can, by this and the like worrying and wearying of the English, bring to passe, it is easie to be iudged by those that vnderstand any thing of the course and state of the trade of those parts, that albeit their returnes heerafter should proue as great continually, as of late extraordinarily they haue happened to be, yet the maine stock and estate of the Company must needs abate and decay by some hundred thousands of pounds yeerly. Thus, Reader, thou seest what hath made vs vnprovided against such accidents, and what now enforceth the Dutch East-India Company, or their seruants in the Indies, against the common Genius of their Nation, and the wonted firm affection between these two Nations mutually, thus to degenerate, and break out into such strange and incredible outrages against their neereest allies and best-deseruing friends. Farewell.



A TRUE
RELATION
OF THE LATE VN-
IVST, CRVELL, AND BARBA-
ROVS PROCEEDINGS AGAINST
the *English* at AMBOYNA in the *East-Indies*,
by the *Neatherlanders* there, vpon a for-
ged pretence of a Conspiracy
of the said *English*.



First the fruitlesse issue of two
seuerall Treaties: the first *An.*
1613. in *London*; and the o-
ther, *An.* 1615. at the *Hage* in
Holland, touching the diffe-
rences betweene the *English*
and *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*:
at last by a third Treaty, *Anno.*
1619. in *London*, there was a
full and solemne composition made of all the said
dif-

differences, and a faire order set for the future proceeding of the Supposts of both Companies in the Indies; aswell in the course of their Trade and commerce, as otherwise. Amongst sundry other points, it was agreed, That in regard of the great blood-shed and cost, pertended to bee bestowed by the Hollanders in winning of the Trade of the Isles of the *Moluccos, Banda, & Amboyna*, from the Spaniards & Portugals, & in building of Forts for the continuall securing of the same, the said Hollanders therefore should enioy two third parts, of that Trade, and the English the other third; and the charge of the Forts to bee maintained by taxes and impositions, to bee leuied vpon the Merchandize. Wherefore, in consequence of this agreement, the English East-India Company planted certaine Factories for their share of this Trade; some at the *Molluccos*, some at *Banda*, and some at *Amboyna*. Of the two former of these, there will be, at this present, small occasion to speake further; but the last will proue the Scene of a sad Tragedie.

This *Amboyna* is an Island lying neere *Seran*, of the circuit of fortie leagues, and giueth name also to some other smal Islands adiacent. It beareth Cloues; for gathering and buying in whereof, the English Companie for their part had planted five seuerall Factories, the head and *Rendezouz* of all, at the town of *Amboyna*; and therein first Master *George Muschamp*, and afterward Master *Gabriell Towerfon*, their Agents, with directions ouer the smaller Factories at *Hitto* and *Larica* vpon the same Island, and at *Cambello* and *Lobo*, vpon a point of the neighbouring Island of *Seran*.

Upon these Islands of *Amboyna*, and the point of Seran, the Hollanders haue foure Forts: the chief of all is at the said Town of *Amboyna*, and is very strong, hauing foure Points or Bulwarks with their curtains, and vpon each of these Points, six great peeces of Ordnance mounted, most of them of brasse. The one side of this Castle is washed by the Sea; and the other is diuided from the land with a ditch of foure or five fathome broad, very deep, and euer filled with the Sea. The Garrison of this Castle consisteth of about 200. Dutch souldiers, and a company of free Burgers. Besides these, there is alwaies a matter of three or foure hundred Mardikers (for so they call the free Natiues) in the Town, ready to serue the Castle at an houres warning. There lie also in the road (for the most part) diuerse good ships of the Hollanders, aswell for the guard of the place by Sea, as for the occasions of traffick; this beeing the chief *Rendevouz* aswell for the Islands of Banda, as for the rest of *Amboyna*. Heer the English liued; not in the Castle, but vnder protection thereof, in a house of their owne in the Town: holding themselves safe, aswel in respect of the ancient bonds of amity between both nations, as of the strict conjunction made by the late Treatie before-mentioned.

They continued heer some two yeers, conuersing and trading together with the Hollanders, by vertue of the said Treaty. In which time there fell out sundry differences and debates betweene them; the English complayning, that the Hollanders did not onely lauish away much money in building, and vn-necessary expences vpon the Forts and otherwise, and bring large and vnreasonable reckonings thereof

to the common accompt, but also did, for their part, pay the Garrisons with victualls and cloth of *Coromandell*, which they put off to the Souldiers at three or foure times the valew it cost them, yet would not allow of the English Companies part of the same charge, but onely in ready money; thereby drawing from the English (which ought to pay but one third part) more than two thirds of the whole true charge. Hereupon, and vpon the like occasions, grew some discontents and disputes, and the complaints were sent to *Iaccatra*, in the Island of *Iaua Maior*, to the Councell of defense of both Nations there residing: who also, not agreeing vpon the points in difference, sent the same hither ouer into Europe, to be decided by both Companies here; or, in default of their agreement, by the Kings Maiestie, and the Lords the States Generall, according to an Article of the Treatie of the yeare 1619. on this behalfe. In the meane time, the discontent betweene the English and the Dutch, about these and other differences, continued and daily increased, vntill at last there was a sword found, to cut in sunder that knot at once, which the tedious disputes of *Amboyna* and *Iaccatra* could not vntye. And this was vsed in manner as followeth.

About the eleuenth of February, 1622. *Stilo veteri*, a *Iapon* Souldier of the Dutch in their Castle of *Amboyna*, walking in the night vpon the wall, came to the Sentinell (being a Hollander,) and there, amongst other talke, asked him some questions touching the strength of the Castle, and the people that were therein. It is heer to be noted, that those *Iapons* (of whom there is not thirty in all the Island) did, for the most part, serue the Dutch as Souldiers, yet were

not.

not of their trusty bands, alwaies lodged in the castle, but vpon occasion called out of the town to assist in the Watch. This *Iapon* afore said, was for his said conference with the Sentinell, apprehended vpon suspicion of treason, and put to the Torture. Thereby (as some of the Dutch affirmed) hee was brought to confesse himselfe, and sundry others of his country-men there, to haue contriued the taking of the Castle. Heereupon, other *Iapons* were examined and tortured, as also a Portugall, the Guardian of the Slaues vnder the Dutch. During this examination, which continued three or foure dayes; some of the English-men went to and from the Castle vpon their businesse, saw the prisoners, heard of their tortures, and of the crime laid to their charge; but all this while suspected not, that this matter did any whit concerne themselves; hauing neuer had any conuersation with the *Iapons*, nor with the Portugall afore said. At the same time there was one *Abel Brice*, Chirurgion of the English, prisoner in the Castle, for offering in his drunkenesse to set a Dutch-mans house on fire. This fellow the Dutch tooke, and shewed him some of the *Iapons*, whom they had first most grievously tortured, and told him, they had confessed the English to haue been of their confederacy, for the taking of the Castle; and that if he would not confesse the same, they would vse him euen as they had done these *Iapons*, and worse also. Hauing giuen him the torture, they soone made him confesse what euer they asked him. This was the fifteenth of February, 1622. *Stilo veteri*. Forthwith, about nine of the Clock the same morning, they sent for Cap-
B 2 caine

Captaine *Towerfon*, and the rest of the English that were
 in the Town, to come and speak with the Gouvernor
 in the Castle. They all went, save one that was left
 to keep the house. Being come to the Gouvernor, he
 told Captaine *Towerfon*, that himself and others of his
 Nation were accused of a conspiracy to surprize the
 Castle; and therefore, vntill further triall, were to
 remain prisoners. Instantly also they attached him
 that was left at home in the house, took the merchan-
 dize of the English Company there into their owne
 custody by Inuentory, & seized all the chests, boxes,
 books, writings, & other things in the English house.
 Captaine *Towerfon* was committed to his chamber,
 with a guard of Dutch souldiers. *Emanuel Tomson*
 was kept prisoner in the Castle: the rest, viz. *John*
Beomont, *Edward Collins*, *William webber*, *Ephraim*
Ramsay, *Timothie Johnson*, *John Fardo* & *Robert Brown*,
 were sent aboard the Hollanders ships then riding in
 harbour, some to one ship, and some to another, and
 all made fast in Irons. The same day also the Gouver-
 nor sent to the two other Factories in the same Iland,
 to apprehend the rest of the English there. So that
Samuel Colson, *John Clark*, *George Sharrock*, that were
 found in the factory at *Hitto*, and *William Grigs*, and
John Saddler at *Larica*, were all brought prisoners to
Amboyna the sixteenth of February. Upon which day
 also *John Powle*, *John Wetherall*, and *Thomas Ladbroke*,
 were apprehended at *Cambello*, and brought in i-
 rons vnto *Amboyna*, the twentieth of the same mo-
 neth. In the meane time, the Gouvernour and Fis-
 call went to worke with the prisoners that were
 already there. And first they sent for *John Beomont*,
 and

and *Timothie Johnson*, from aboard the *Vnicorn*; who being comne into the Castle, *Beomont* was left with a guard in the Hall, and *Johnson* was taken into another room. Where, by and by, *Beomont* heard him cry out very pitifully; then to bee quiet for a little while, and then loud again. After taste of the torture, *Abel Price* the Chirurgion, that first was examined and tortured (as is aboue-remembred), was brought in to confront and accuse him. But *Johnson* not yet confessing any thing, *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Johnson* brought again to the torture; where *Beomont* heard him sometime cry aloud, then quiet againe, then roare afresh. At last, after hee had been about an houre in this second examination, hee was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in diuers parts of his body, and so laid aside in a by-place of the Hall, with a souldier to watch him, that he should speak with no body. Then was *Emanuel Tomson* brought to examination; not in the roome where *Johnson* had beene, but in another something farther from the Hall. Yet *Beomont*, being in the Hall, heard him roare most lamentably, and many times. At last, after an houre and an halfe spent in torturing him, hee was carried away into another room another way; so that hee came not by *Beomont* through the Hall. Next, was *Beomont* called in, and, beeing demanded many things, all which hee denied with deep oathes and protestations, was made fast to be tortured; a cloth tied about his neck, and two men ready with their larres of water to be powred on his head. But yet for this time the Gouvernor bade loose him; hee would spare him a day or two, because hee was an old man. This was all Saturdayes worke, the

*Emanuel
Tomson
examined.*

fifteenth of February aforesaid.

Vpon Sunday the sixteenth of February, *William Webber, Edward Collins, Ephraim Kamssey, and Robert Brown*, were fetcht from aboard the *Rotterdam*, to be examined. At the same time came *Samuel Colson, William Griggs, and John Clarke, George Sharrock, and John Saddler*, from *Hitto and Larica*, and were immediately, vpon their arriual, brought into the Castle-Hall.

*Robert
Browne ex-
amined.
Edward
Collins ex-
amined.*

Robert Browne Tailor was first called in; and being tormented with water, confessed all in order as the Fiscall asked him.

Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told, that those that were formerly examined, had confest him as accessary to the plot of taking the Castle. Which, when he denied with great othes & execrations, they made his hands and feet fast to the Racke, bound a cloth about his throate, ready to bee put to the torture of water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be respited, and he would confesse all. Being let downe, hee againe vowed and protested his innocency; yet said, that because hee knew that they would by torture make him confesse any thing, though neuer so false, they should doe him a great fauour, to tell him what they would haue him say, and hee would speake it, to auoide the torture. The Fiscall hereupon said; What? doe you mocke vs? and bade, Vp with him again; and so gaue him the torment of water: which he not able long to endure, prayed to be let downe againe to his confession. Then he deuised a little with himselfe, and tolde them, that about two moneths and a halfe before, himselfe, *Tomson, Johnson, Browne, and Fardo*, had plotted, with the helpe of the Iapons, to

sur-

surprise the Castle. Heere he was interrupted by the Fiscall, and asked, whether Captaine *Tower* were not of that conspiracy. Hee answered, No. You ly, said the Fiscall: did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that those daily abuses of the Dutch had caused him to think of a plot, and that he wanted nothing but your consent and secrecie? Then said a Dutch Merchant, one *John Iooft* that stood by, Did not you all sweare vpon a Bible to be secret to him? *Collins* answered with great oaths, that hee knew nothing of any such matter. Then they bade make him fast againe: whereupon he then said, All was true that they had spoken. Then the Fiscall asked him, whether the English in the rest of the Factories, were not consenting to this plot. He answered, No. The Fiscall then asked him, whether the President of the English at Iaccatra, or M. *welden* Agent in Banda, were not plotters or priue to this businesse. Againe he answered, no. Then the Fiscall asked him, by what meanes the Iaponers should haue executed their purpose. Whereat, when *Collins* stood staggering and deuising of some probable fiction, the Fiscall holpe him, and said, Should not two Iaponers haue gone to each point of the Castle, and two to the Gouvernours chamber doore; and when the hurly-burly had bin without, and the Gouvernour comming to see what was the matter, the Iaponers to haue killed him? Here one that stood by, said to the Fiscall, Do not tell him what he should say, but let him speake of himselfe. Whereupon the Fiscall, without attending the answer to his former question; asked what the Iapons should haue had for their reward. *Collins* answered, 1000. Ryalls apeece. Lastly, he asked him, when
this

this plot should haue beene effected. Whereunto, although hee answered him nothing (nor knowing what to deuise vpon the sudden) yet hee was dismissed, and very glad to come cleere of the torture, though with certaine beleefe that hee should die for this his confession.

*Sam. Colson
examined.*

Next was *Samuel Colson* brought in, being newly arriued from Hitto, as is before touched; and was the same day brought to the torture: who, for feare of the paine wherewith hee saw *Collins* come out, in such a case, that his eyes were almost blowne out of his head with the torment of water; chose rather to confesse all they asked him: and so was quickly dismissed, comming out weeping, lamenting, and protesting his innocency.

*John Clarke
examined.*

Then was *John Clarke*, that came with *Colson* from Hitto, fetcht in, and a little after was heard (by the rest that were without in the Hall) to cry out amaine. They tortured him with water and with fire, by the space of two houres. The maner of his torture (as also of *Johnsons* and *Tomsens*) was as followeth: First they hoised him vp by the hands with a cord on a large dore, where they made him fast vpon two Staples of Iron, fixt on both sides at the top of the dore posts, haling his hands one from the other as wide as they could stretch. Being thus made fast, his feete hung some two foot from the ground; which also they stretcht asunder as far as they would retch, and so made them fast beneath vnto the dore-trees on each side. Then they bound a cloth about his necke and face so close, that little or no water could go by. That done, they poured the water softly vpon his head vtill the cloth was full, vnto the mouth and nostrils

nostrills, and somewhat higher; so that he could not draw breath, but he must withall suck-in the water: which being still continued to bee poured in softly, forced all his inward parts, came out of his nose, eares, and eyes; and often as it were stifling & choking him, at length took away his breath, & brought him to a swoone or fainting. Then they tooke him quickly downe, and made him vomit vp the water. Being a little recovered, they triced him vp againe, and poured in the water as before, eftsoones taking him downe as he seemed to be stifled. In this maner they handled him three or foure severall times with water, till his body was swolne twice or thrice as bigge as before, his cheekes like great bladders, and his eyes staring and strutting out beyond his forehead: yet all this hee bare, without confessing any thing. Infomuch as the Fiscall and tormentors reuiled him, saying that he was a Diuell, and no man, or surely was a Witch; at least had some charme about him, or was enchanted, that he could beare so much. Wherfore they cut off his haire very short, as supposing he had some witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoised him vp againe as before, and then burnt him with lighted candles in the bottome of his feete, vntill the fat dropt out the candles; yet then applyed they fresh lights vnto him. They burnt him also vnder the elbowes, and in the palmes of the hands; likewise vnder the arme-pits, vntill his inwards might euidently be seene. At last, when they saw he could of himselfe make no handsome confession, then they ledde him along with questions of particular circumstances, by themselves framed. Being thus wearied and overcome by the torment, hee

answered yea, to whatsoever they asked: whereby they drew from him a bodie of a confession to this effect; to wit, That Captaine *Tomerson* had vpon New-yeares day last before, sworne all the English at *Amboyna* to bee secret and assistant to a plot that he had projected, with the helpe of the Iaponers, to surprise the Castle, and to put the Gouvernor and the rest of the Dutch to death.

Hauiing thus martyred this poor man, they sent him out by foure Blacks; who carried him between them to a dungeon, where he lay fife or fix daies without any Chirurgion to dresse him, vntil (his flesh being putrefied) great Maggots dropt and crept from him in a most loathsom & noysom maner. Thus they finished their Sabbath daies work; & it growing now darke, sent the rest of the English (that came that day from Hitto, and till then attended in the Hall) first to the Smith's shop, where they were loaden with Irons, & then to the same loathsom dungeon where *Clarke* and the rest were, accompanied with the poore Iaponers, lying in the putrefaction of their tortures.

The next morning, being Munday the seuenteenth of February, old stile, *William Griggs* and *John Fardo*, with certaine Iaponers, were brought into the place of examination.

Will. Griggs
examined.

John Fardo
examined.

The Iaponers were first cruelly tortured, to accuse *Grigs*; which at last they did: and *Grigs*, to auoid the like torture, confessed all that the Fiscall demanded. By and by the like also was done by *John Fardo*, and other Iaponers: but *Fardo* himselfe endured the torture of water, and at last confessed whatsoever the Fiscall asked him, and so was sent back to prison.

The same day also *John Beemont* was brought the
second

second time to the Fiscals chamber; where one Cap-
taine *Newport* a Dutch-mans son (borne in England)
was vsed as an Interpreter. *William Grigs* was also
brought in to accuse him; who said, that when the
consultation for taking of the Castle, was held, then
hee (the said *Beomont*) was present. *Beomont* denied it
with great earnestnesse and deep oaths. At last being
triced vp, and drenched with water till his inwards
were ready to crack, he answered affirmatiuely to all
the Fiscals interrogatories: yet as soon as hee was let
down, he cleerly demonstrated to Captain *Newport*,
and *Johnsen* a Dutch Merchant then also present, that
these things could not be so. Neuerthelesse hee was
forced to put his hand to his confesion, or else hee
must to the torture againe: which to auoid, hee sub-
scribed; and so had a great iron bolt & two shackles
riueted to his legs, & then was carried back to prison.

*Ioh. Beomont
examined 2^o*

After this, *George Sharrock*, Assistant at Hitto, was *George*
called in question; who, seeing how grieuously o- *Sharrock ex-*
thers were martyred, made his earnest prayer to God *amined,*
(as since vpon his oath hee hath acknowledged) that
he would suffer him to make some such probable lyes
against himself, as the Dutch might beleue, and so
hee might escape the torment. Being brought to the
Rack, the water prouided, and the candles lighted, he
was by the Gouvernor and Fiscall examined, and char-
ged with the conspiracy. He fell vpon his knees, and
protested his innocencie. Then they commanded
him to the Rack, and told him, vnlesse hee would
confesse, he should be tormented with fire and water
to death, and then should be drawne by the heeles to
the gallows, and there hanged vp. He still persisting
in his innocencie, the Fiscall bade him be hoised

vp. Then hee craued respite awhile, and told them, that he was at Hitto, and not in *Amboyna*, vpon New-yeeres day, when the consultation was pretended; neither had beene there since Nouember before, as was well knowne to sundry of the *Hollanders* themselves, that resided there also with him. Heereupon, they commanded him againe to the Racke: but hee, crauing respite as before, now told them, that hee had many times heard *John Clark* (who was with him at Hitto) say, That the Dutch had done them many vn-sufferable wrongs, and that he would be reuenged of them: to which end, hee had once broken with Captaine *Towersson* of a braue plot. At which word the Fiscall and the rest were attentive, encouraging him to proceede. So hee went on, saying, that *John Clark* had entreated Captaine *Towersson*, that he might go to *Macassar*, there to consult and aduise with the Spaniards to come with gallies, and rob the small Factories of *Amboyna* and *Seran*, when no ships were there. Heere they asked him, what Captaine *Towersson* said to this. He answered, that Captaine *Towersson* was very much offended with *Clarke* for the motion, and from thenceforth could neuer abide him. Heereupon the Fiscall called him rogue, & said he prated all from the matter, and should to the torture. Hee craued fauour againe, and began another tale; to wit, that vpon Twelf-day then last past, *John Clark* told him at Hitto, that there was a practice to take the Castle of *Amboyna*; and asked him, whether he would consent thereunto. Whereupon he demanded of *Clark*, whether Captaine *Towersson* knew of any such matter. Which, *Clark* affirming; then he (the said *Sharrock*) said, that hee would do as the rest did. Then the Fiscall

call asked him, what time the consultation was held. He answered, In Nouember last. The Fiscall said, That could not bee: for, the consultation was ypon New-yeers day. The prisoner said as before in the beginning, that hee had not been in *Amboyna* since the first of December, till now that hee was brought thither. Why then, quoth the Fiscall, haue you belyed your selfe? Wnereto the prisoner resolutely answered, that all that hee had spoken touching any treason, was false, and fained onely to auoid torment. Then went the Fiscall out into another roome to the Gouernor, and anon returned, and sent *Sharrock* vnto the prison againe. The next day hee was called againe, and a writing presented him; wherein was framed a formall confession of his last conference with *Clark* at *Hitto*, touching the plot to take the Castle of *Amboyna*: which being read-ouer to him, the Fiscall asked him, whether it were true, or no. He answered, No. Why then, said the Fiscall, did you confesse it? He answered, For feare of torment. The Fiscall and the rest in a great rage told him he lyed; his mouth had spoken it, and it was true, and therefore he should subscribe it. Which as soone as he had done, hee fell presently into a great passion, charging them bitterly to be guilty of the innocent blood of himself and the rest, which they should look to answer for at the Day of Iudgement: withall he grappled with the Fiscall, and would haue stopped him from carrying in the confession to the Gouernor, with whom he also craved to speak; but was instantly laid hold on, and carryed away to prison.

William webber, being next examined, was told by the Fiscall, that *John Clark* had confessed him to haue

*William
Webber exa-
mined.*

been at *Amboyna* on New-yeers day, and sworne to Captaine *Towerfon*'s plot, &c. All which he denied, alleaging, hee was that day at *Larica*: yet, beeing brought to the torture, hee then confessed, hee had bin at the consultation at *Amboyna* vpon New-yeers day, with all the rest of the circumstances in order as he was asked. He also further told them, hee had receiued a letter from *John Clark*; after which was a Postscript, excusing his brief writing at that time, for that there was great businesse in hand. But one *Renier* a Dutch Merchant, then standing by, told the Gouvernor, that vpon New-yeers day, the time of this pretended consultation, *Webber* and hee were merry at *Larica*. So the Gouvernor left him, and went out. But the Fiscall held on vpon the other point, touching the Postscript of *Clark*'s Letter, vrging him to shew the same. Which when hee could not doe, though often terrified with the torture, he gaue him respite; promising to saue his life, if hee would produce that Letter.

Gabriel Towerfon examined.

Then was Captaine *Towerfon* brought to the examination, and shewed what others had confessed of him. Hee deeply protesting his innocencie, *Samuel Colson* was brought to confront him: who beeing told, that vnlesse hee would now make good his former confession against Captaine *Towerfon*, he should to the torture; coldly re-affirmed the same, and so was sent away. They also brought *William Grigs* and *John Fardo* to iustifie their former confessions to his face. Captain *Towerfon* seriously charged them, that as they would answer it at the dreadful day of Iudgement, they should speak nothing but the truth. Both of them instantly fell downe vpon their knees before him;

him; praying him for God's sake to forgiue them, and saying further openly before them all, that whatsoever they had formerly confessed, was most false, and spoken onely to auoid torment. With that, the Fiscall and the rest offered them againe to the torture: which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former confessions to be true.

When *Colson* (who had accused Captain *Towerson* before) was required to set his hand to his confession, he asked the Fiscall, vpon whose head he thought the sinne would lie; whether vpon his that was constrained to confesse what was false, or vpon the constrainers. The Fiscall, after a little pause vpon this question, went in to the Gouvernor then in another room; but anon returning, told *Colson* hee must subscribe it: which he did; yet withall made this protestation: Well, quoth he, you make mee to accuse my selfe and others, of that which is as false as G O D is true: for, God is my witnes, I am as innocent as the childe new borne.

Thus haue they examined all that belong to the English Companie in the seuerall Factories of the Island of *Amboyna*.

The one and twentieth of February, they examined *Io. Wetherall* *Io. Wetherall* Factor at Cambello in the Island of *Seran*. He confessed, he was at *Amboyna* vpon New-years day: but for the consultation, whereof he was demanded, he said he knew of no other, but touching certain cloth of the English Company, that lay in the Factories rotting and worm eaten; which they aduised together how to put off to the best anail of their Employers. The Gouvernor said, they questioned him not about cloth, but of treason: whereof when hee had

had protested his innocency, hee was for that time dismissed. But the next day he was sent for again, and Captaine *Towerson* brought to confront and accuse him, having before (it seemes) confessed somewhat against him. But *M. Towerson* spake now these words onely: Oh, *M. Wetherall*, *M. Wetherall*, speak the truth, and nothing but the truth, as God shall put into your heart. So Captaine *Towerson* was put out againe, and *Wetherall* brought to the torture of water; with great threats, if water would not make him confesse, fire should. He prayed them to tell him what hee should say, or to write downe what they would; hee would subscribe it. They said, hee needed no Tutor; they would make him confesse of himself. But when they had triced him vp foure severall times, and saw hee knew not what to say, then they read him other mens confessions, and asked him from point to point, as they had done others: and he still answered, Yea to all.

John Powle
examined.

Next was called in *John Powle*, *Wetheralls* Assistant at Cambello: but he, proving that he was not at *Amboyna* since Nouember (saue now when hee was brought thither prisoner), and being spoken-for by one *John Ioust*, who had long beene well acquainted with him, was dismissed without torture.

Thomas
Ladbrook
examined.

Then was *Thomas Ladbrook*, servant to *Wetherall* and *Powle* at Cambello, brought to bee examined: but proving that hee was at Cambello at the time of the pretended consultation, and serving in such quality, as that he was neuer acquainted with any of the Letters from the Agent of *Amboyna*, hee was easily and quickly dismissed.

Ephraim Ramsfey was also examined vpon the whole
preten-

pretended conspiracy, and particularly questioned *Ephraim* concerning *Captaine Welden* the English Agent in *Banda*: but denying all, and proving that he was not *Ramsay examined* at *Amboyna* at New-years tide, being also spoken-for by *John Joost*, was dismissed, after hee had hanged in the Rack a good while, with the Irons ypon his legs, and the cloth about his mouth.

Lastly, *John Saddler*, servant to *William Grigs* at *La-rica*, was examined; and being found to have been *examined*, absent from *Amboyna* at New-years tide, when *Grigs* and others were there, was dismissed.

Thus have we all their examinations, tortures, and confessions, being the work of eight daies, from the fifteenth vnto the three and twentieth of February. After which, was two daies respite before the Sentence. *John Powle*, being himself acquitted as before-said, went to the prison to visit *John Fardo*, one of those that had accused *Captaine Tower-son*. To him *Fardo* religiously protested his innocencie; but especially his sorrow for accusing *M. Tower-son*: for, said he, the feare of death doth nothing dismay me; for, God (I trust) will be mercifull to my soule, according to the innocency of my cause. The onely matter that troubleth me, is, that through feare of torment I have accused that honest and godly man *Captaine Tower-son*, who (I think in my conscience) was so vpright and honest towards all men, that he harboured no ill will to any, much lesse would attempt any such businesse as he is accused of. Hee further said, hee would before his death receiue the Sacrament, in acknowledgement that hee had accused *Captaine Tower-son* falsely and wrongfully, onely through feare of torment.

The five and twentieth of February, old Stile, all the prisoners, as well the English as the Portugall and the Iapons, were brought into the great Hall of the Castle, and there were solemnly condemned, except *John Powle*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *John Saddler*, and *Thomas Ladbroke*, formerly acquitted, as aforesaid.

Captain *Tower*son having been (during all his imprisonment) kept apart from the rest, so that none of them could come to speake with him; writ much in his chamber (as some of the Dutch report), but all was suppressed, save onely a Bill of debt, which one *Th. Johnson* a free Burgher got of him by favour of his keepers, for acknowledgement, that the English Company owed him a certaine summe of money. In the end of this Bill hee writ these words: *Firmed by the Firme of mee Gabriel Tower*son now appointed to die, guiltlesse of any thing that can be iustly laid to my charge. God forgive them their guilt, and receive me to his mercy. Amen. This Bill being brought to *M. Wol-*den the English Agent at Banda, he paid the money, and received in the acknowledgement.

William Grigs (who had before accused Captaine *Tower*son) writ these words following in his Table-book: *We, whose names are heer specified; John Beomont, Merchant of Lobo, William Grigs, Merchant of Larica, Abel Price, Chirurgion of Amboyna, Robert Browne, Tailor, which doe heer lie prisoners in the ship Rotterdam, being apprehended for conspiracie, for blowing up the Castle of Amboyna: we being indged to death this first of March, Anno 1622. which wee through torment was constrained to speake, that which we neuer meant, nor once imagined; the which wee take upon our deaths & saluation, they tortured us with that*

extreme torment of fire and water, that flesh and blood could not endure: and this we take upon our deaths, that they haue put vs to death guiltlesse of our accusation. So therefore we desire, they that shall vnderstand this; that our Employers may vnderstand these wrongs, and that your selues would haue a care to looke to your selues: for their intēt was to haue brought you in also: they askt concerning you; which if they had tortured vs, we must haue confessed you also. And so farewell; written in the dark.

This Table-book was afterwards deliuered to M. Welden aforenamed, by one that serued the Dutch.

Samuel Colson also, another that accused Captaine Towerfon, writ as followeth in the waste leaues of a booke, wherein were bound together the Common Prayers, the Psalmes, and the Catechisme.

In one page thus;
March. 5. *stilo nouo*, being Sunday, aboard the Rotterdam, lying in Irons:

VNderstand that I Samuel Colson, late Factor of Hitto, was apprehended for suspicion of conspiracy; and for any thing I know must die for it: wherefore, hauing no better meanes to make my innocency knowne, haue writ this in this booke, hoping some good Englishman will see it. I doe here upon my saluation, as I hope by his death and passion to haue redemption for my sinnes, that I am cleere of all such conspiracy; neither do I know any Englishman guilty thereof, nor other creature in the world. As this is true: God blesse me.

Samuel Colson.

On the other side, vpon the first page of the Catechisme, is thus written:

IN another leafe you shall vnderstand more, which I haue written in this booke.

Samuel Colson.

In the beginning of the Psalms, and in the leaf so referred vnto, is thus written, *Psalm 137*

THE Iapons were taken with some villanie, and brought to examination: beeing most tyrannously tortur'd, were asked if the English had any hand in their plot which torture made them say, *Yea*. Then was Master Tomson, M. Iohnson, M. Collins, Iohn Clark brought to examination, and were burned under the armes, armes, pits, the hands, and soles of the feete, with another most miserable torment to drinke water; some of them almost tortured to death, and were forced to confesse that which they neuer knew, by reason of the torment which flesh and blood is not able to endure. Then were the rest of the Englishmen called one by one (amongst which I was one) being wished to confesse, or else I must goe to torment; withall caused M. Iohnson, who was before tormented, to witnesse against me, or else he should be tormented againe; which rather than he would endure, he said, what they would haue, he would speake. Then must I confesse that I neuer knew, or else to goe to torment; which rather than I would suffer, I did confesse that, which (as I shall be saued before God Almighty) is not true; being forced for feare of torment. Then did they make vs witnesse against Captain Towerfon, and at last made Captaine Towerfon confesse: all being for feare of most cruell torment; for which wee must all dye. As I meane and hope to haue pardon for my finnes, I know no more than the childe vborne of this businesse. Written with my owne hand the fift of March, Anno nouo.

Samuel Colson.

Yet in another page were these words:

I was

I was born in Newcastle upon Tyne; where I desire this book may come, that my friends may know of my innocencie.

Samuel Colson.

This Book he deliuered to one that serued the Hollanders; who sowed it vp in his bed, and afterward, at his oportunity, deliuered it to M. *welden* before-named.

All these said Writings are yet extant vnder the hands of the seuerall parties, well knowne to their friends heer in England.

The six and twentieth of February, *filio veteri*, the prisoners were all brought into the great Hall of the Castle (except Captain *Towersen* and *Emanuel Tomson*) to be prepared for death by the Ministers. The Iapons now all in generall, as some of them had done before in particular, cried out to the English, saying; O you Englishmen, where did wee euer in our liues ear with you, talk with you, or (to our remembrance) see you? The English answered, Why then haue you accused vs? The poore men, perceiuing they were made beleue each had accused others, before they had so done indeed; shewed them their tortured bodies, and said, If a stone were thus burnt, would it not change his nature: how much more we that are flesh and blood?

Whilst they were all in the Hall, Captain *Tomson* was brought vp into the place of examination, and two great pans of water carried after him. What he there did or suffered, was unknowne to the English without: but it seemeth, they made him then to write his confession. After supper, *John Poole*,

Ephraim Ramsey, Thomas Ladbroke, and John Saddler, who were found not-guilty, as aforesaid, were taken from the rest, and put into another roome. By and by also were *Samuel Colson & Edward Collins* brought from the rest, into the room where *Emanuel Tomson* lay. The Fiscall told them, it was the Gouvernors mercy, to saue one of them three : and it being indifferent to him, which of them were the man, it was his pleasure they should draw lots for it. which they did, and the free lot fell to *Edward Collins*; who then was carried away to the chamber, where *John Powle* and the rest that were quit, lodged: and *Samuel Colson* back into the Hall. Anon also *John Beomont* was brought out of the Hall, into the chamber where *John Powle* & the rest of the acquitted persons were, and was told, that he was beholding to *Peter Johnson* the Dutch Merchant of Loho, and to the Secretarie; for they two had begged his life.

So then there remained in the Hall ten of the English; for *Captaine Towerson* and *Emanuel Tomson* (as is said before) were kept in seuerall rooms apart from the rest. To these that remained in the Hall, came the Dutch Ministers, who telling them how short a time they had to liue, admonished and exhorted them to make their true confessions; for it was a dangerous, and desperate thing, to dissemble at such a time. The English still professed their innocency, and prayed the Ministers, that they might all receiue the Sacrament, as a seale of the forgiuenesse of their sinnes, and withall, thereby to confirme their last profession of their innocencie. But this would by no meanes be granted. Whereupon *Samuel Colson* said thus vnto the Ministers; You manifest vnto vs the danger of

of dissimulation in this case. But tell vs; if we suffer guiltlesse, being otherwise also true beleeuers in Christ Iesus. What shall be our reward? The Preacher answered, By how much the cleerer you are, so much the more glorious shall bee your resurrection. With that word, *Colson* started vp, imbraced the Preacher, and gaue him his purse, with such money as hee had in it, saying; *Domine*, God bleffe you: Tell the *Gouernour*, I freely forgiue him; and I intreat you, to exhort him to repent him of this bloody tragedy, wrought vpon vs poore innocent soules. Here all the rest of the English signified their consent to this speech. Then spake *John Fardo* to the rest, in presence of the Ministers, as followeth: My countrey-men and brethren, that are heere with mee condemned to dye, I charge you all, as you will answer it at Gods iudgement seat, if any of you bee guilty of this matter, whereof we are condemned, discharge your consciences, and confesse the truth for satisfaction of the world. Hereupon *Samuel Colson* spake with a loude voyce, saying, According to my innocency in this Treason, so LORD pardon all my sinnes: and if I be guiltie thereof more or lesse, let me neuer be partaker of thy heauenly ioyes. At which words, eueryone of the rest cryed out, Amen for me, Amen for me, good Lord. This done, each of them knowing whom he had accused, went one to another, begging forgiuenesse for their false accusation, being wrung from them by the paines or feare of torture. And they all freely forgauē one another: for none had beene so falsely accused, but he himselfe had accused another as falsely. In particular, *George Sharrock* (who survived to relate this nights passage) kneeled.

led down to *John Clark*, whom he had accused of the tale at *Hitto* above-mentioned, and craved forgiveness at his hands. *Clark* freely forgave him, saying, How should I look to be forgiven of God, if I should not forgive you, having my selfe so falsely accused *Captain Tencer* and others.

After this, they spent the rest of the dolefull night in Prayer, singing of Psalmes, and comforting one another; though the Dutch that guarded them, offered them wine, bidding them drink *Lustick*, and drive away their sorrow, according to the custom of their owne Nation in the like case, but contrary to the nature of the English.

Upon the morrow-morning, being the execution-day, the 27. of February, *John Powle* being freed (as is above-mentioned) came into the room where the condemned persons were, and found them at Prayer. They all requested him to relate unto their friends in England the innocency of their cause; taking it vpon their deaths, that what they had confessed against themselves & others, touching this crime, was all false, and forced by feare of torture.

The same morning, *William Webber* was called again into the Fiscals room, and there pressed to produce the letter, which hee had before confessed to have receiued from *John Clark*, in the *Postscript* whereof some great businesse was intimated. They promised him his life, if he would deliuer or produce that Letter: which although hee did not, nor indeed could, yet at last they pardoned him, and sent him to the rest that were saved, and *Sharrock* with him.

That morning, *Emanuel Tomson*, vnderstanding that *John Beomont* was pardoned, made means to have him

him come and speak with him, which, with much ado, hee obtained. *Beumont* found him sitting in a chamber, all alone, in a most miserable fashion; the wounds of his torture bound vp, but the matter and gore-blood issuing thorow the Rollers. Hee tooke *M. Beumont* by the hand, and prayed him, when hee came into England, to doe his duetie to the honourable Companie his Masters, to *M. Robinson*, and to his brother *Billingley*, and to certifie them of his innocencie, which (said hee) you your self knowe well enough.

All things beeing prepared for the execution, the condemned were brought forth of the Hall, a long by the chamber where the quit and pardoned were; who stood in the dore, to giue and take the farewell of their countrey-men now going to execution. Staying a little for this purpose, they prayed and charged those that were saued, to bear witnesse to their friends in England of their innocency, and that they died not traitors, but so many Innocents meerly murdered by the Hollanders; whom they prayed God to forgive their blood-thirstinesse, and to haue mercy vpon their owne soules.

Beeing brought into the Yard, their Sentence was there read vnto them from a Gallery: and then they were thence caried vnto the place of execution, together with nine Iapons, and a Portugall; not the ordinary and short way, but roundabout, in a long Procession, thorow the Towne: the way guarded with five Companies of Souldiers, Dutch & Amboyners, and thronged with the Natiues of the Island, that (vpon the Summons giuen the day before by the sound of the Drum) flocked together to behold this

triumph of the Dutch over the English. *Samuel Colson* had conceived a prayer in writing, in the end whereof he protested his innocencie: which prayer hee read to his fellows the night before, and now also at the place of execution deuoutely pronounced the same; then threw away the paper: which the *Gouernor* caused to bee brought vnto him, and kept it.

Emanuel Tomson told the rest, he did not doubt but God would shew some signe of their innocencie; and euery one of the rest tooke it seuerally vpon their death, that they were vtterly guiltlesse: and so, one by one, with great cheerfulnesse, they suffered the fatal stroke.

The *Portugall* praied ouer his Beads very deuoutly, and often kissed the Crosse; swearing thereupon, that he was vtterly innocent of this treason; yet confessed, that God had justly brought this punishment vpon him, for that, hauing a wife in his owne Countrey, he had, by the perswasion of the Dutch *Gouernor*, taken another in that Countrey, his first beeing yet liuing.

The *Iapons* likewise (according to their Religion) shut vp their last Act with the like profession of their innocencie. So there suffered ten Englishmen, viz. *Captaine Gabriel Towerson*, the Agent of the English at *Amboyna*; *Samuel Colson*, Factor at *Hitto*; *Emanuel Tomson*, Assistant at *Amboyna*; *Timothy Johnson*, Assistant there also; *John Wetherall*, Factor at *Cambello*; *John Clarke*, Assistant at *Hitto*; *William Grigges*, Factor at *Larica*; *John Fardo*, Steward of the house; *Abel Price*, Chirurgeon; and *Robert Browne*, Tailor.

The Portugall also suffered with them. His name was *Augustine Perez*. He was borne at Bengala.

The names of the Iaponeses that suffered (if any be curious to know them) were as followeth:

Hitieso,
Tsiosa,
Sinsa. } all borne at Firando.

Sidney Migiel,
Pedro Congie,
Thome Corea. } borne at Nangasacque.

Quiondayo native of Coraets.

Tsabinda of Tsoucketgo.

Zanchoe of Fisien.

Besides these, there were two other Iaponeses; the one named *Soyfimo*, borne at Firando; and the other *Sacoubé*, of the same place: the former of which being tortured, confessed both to have beene priuie to this pretended treason, and to have offered his seruice vnto the English, to ayde them in taking of the Castle: and the latter confessed to have had knowledge of the consultation of the other Iapons to this purpose. But neyther of them was executed, nor so much as condemned. The reason whereof was not knowne to the English that were saued.

They had prepared a cloth of blacke Veluet for Captaine *Towerson's* bodie to fall vpon; which being stayned and defaced with his blood, they afterwards put to the account of the English Companie.

At the instant of the execution, there arose a great darkenesse, with a sudden and violent gust of winde and tempest; whereby two of the Dutch Ships,

Shippes, riding in the harbour, were driven from their anchors, and with great labour and difficulty saued from the rockes. Within a few dayes after, one *William Dunckin*, who had told the Gouvernour, That *Robert Browne*, the English Tailour, had a few moneths before told him, hee hoped, that within fixe moneths the English should haue as much to doe in the Castle of *Amboyna*, as the Dutch. This fellow, comming vpon an euening to the graue where the English were buried, beeing all (saue Captain *Towerson*) in one pit, fell down vpon the graue; and hauing lien there awhile, rose vp againe starke mad, and so continued two or three dayes together, and then died. Foorthwith also fell a new sicknesse at *Amboyna*, which swept away about a thousand people, Dutch and Amboyners: in the space wherein, there vsually died not aboue thirty at other seasons. These signes were by the suruiuing English referred to the confident prediction of *Emanuel Tomson* aboue named, and were by the Amboyners interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous tyranny of the Hollanders.

The next day after the execution, being the eight and twentieth of February, *St. Iohns day*, was spent in triumph for the new General of the Dutch then proclaimed, and in publick rejoycing for the deliverance from this pretended treason. The day following, being the first of March, *John Beomont*, *George Sharrock*, *Edward Collins*, and *William Webber*, were brought to the Gouvernour, who told *Webber*, *Beomont* and *Sharrock*, that they were pardoned in honour of the new

Generall; and *Collins*, that he was to go to *Iaccatra*, there to stand to the fauour of the Generall. So the Gouvernor made them drink wine with him, and curteously dismissed them; willing them to go and consult with the rest that were saued, who were fit to be placed in the severall Factories. Which done, and their opinions reported to the Gouvernor, hee accordingly commanded each to his place; adding, that he would thenceforth take vpon him the patronage and gouernment of the English Companies businesse. To which purpose, he had within a few daies past opened a Letter that came from the English President at *Iaccatra*, directed to *Captaine Tadmerson*; beeing (as hee said) the first English Letter that he intercepted, further saying, that he was glad that he found by that Letter, that the English at *Iaccatra* were innocent touching this businesse.

The Gouvernor and *Fiscoall*, having thus made an end at *Amboyna*, dispatched themselves for *Banda*; where they made very diligent enquiry against *Captaine Welden*, the English Agent there, yet found no colour nor shadow of guilt to lay hold on, but at last entertained him with courteous speeches, professing to be very glad, that they found him, as well as the English at *Iaccatra*, to be without suspicion of this treason (as they term it). *Captaine Welden*, perceiving the disorder and confusion of the English Companies affaires at *Amboyna*; by means of this dealing of the Dutch; forthwith hired a Dutch Pinace at *Banda*, and passed to *Amboyna*, where instantly vpon his arruall, he re-called the Companies seruants sent (as before) by the Dutch Gouvernor to the vnder-Factories.

Having enquired of them, & the rest that were left at *Amboyna*, of the whole proceeding lately passed, hee found, by the constant and agreeing relation of them all, that there was no such treason of the English as was pretended: as also hee vnderstood, what strict command the Gouvernor had giuen to the suruiuing English, not once to talke or conferre with the Country-people concerning this bloody businesse, although the said Country-people euery day reproched them with treason, and a bloody intention to haue massacred the natives, and to haue ripped vp the bellies of women with childe, and such like stuffe; wherewith the Dutch haue possessed the poore Vulgar, to make the English odious vnto them. The said *M. Welden* therefore finding it to sort neither with the honour nor profit of the English Company, his Masters, to hold any longer residence in *Amboyna*, hee took this poore remnant of the English a-long with him, in the said hired Pinace, for *Iaccatra*; whither the Gouvernor had sent *John Beemont* and *Edward Collins* before, as men condemned, and left to the mercy of the Generall.

When this heavy newes of *Amboyna* came to *Iaccatra* and the English there, the President forthwith sent to the Generall of the Dutch, to knowe by what authority the Gouvernor at *Amboyna* had thus proceeded against the English, and how he, & the rest of the Dutch there at *Iaccatra*, did approoue these proceedings. The Generall returned for answer, that, The Gouvernor of *Amboyna*'s authority was deriued from that of the Lords States Generall of the Vnited Netherlands; vnder whom hee had lawfull iurisdiction both in criminall and ciuill causes, within the district
of

of *Amboyna*. Further, that such proceeding was necessary against traitors, such as the English, executed at *Amboyna*, might appear to be by their owne confessions: a copy whereof hee therewith sent to the English President; who sent the same back to be authentickly certified, but receiued it not again.

Hitherto hath been recited the bare & naked narration of the progresse and passage of this action, as it is taken out of the depositions of six severall English Factors: whereof foure were condemned, and the other two acquitted, in this Processe of *Amboyna*; all, since their return into England, examined vpon their othes in the Admiralty Court. The particular of Captain *Townson's*, as also of *Emanuel Tomson's* examinations and answers, are not yet come to light, by reason that these two were kept apart from all the rest, and each alone by himself; nor any other of the English suffred to come and speak with them, except onely that short Farewell which *John Beomont* tooke of *Tomson* the morning before the execution aforementioned. The like obscurity is yet touching the examinations and answers of diuerse of the rest that were executed; being, during their imprisonment, so strictly lookt-to and watched by the Dutch, that they might not talke together, nor mutually relate their miseries.

But because the Hollanders defend their own proceedings by the confessions of the parties executed, acknowledging severally vnder their hands, that they were guilty of the pretended crime; it will not be amisse to recollect and recall vnto this place, as it were vnto one summe and totall, certain circumstances dispersed in severall parts of this narration; whereby as well

well the innocencie of the English, as the vnlawfull proceedings against them, may be manifested.

First therefore it is to be remembred, that the Iapons were apprehended, examined, & tortured three or foure daies, before the English were attached, and the same as well of their apprehension, as torture, was ripe and notorious in the Town of *Amboyna*, and the parts adioyning. *Tonsom* in this interim, and the very first day of the examination of the Iapon, went to the Castle to ask leaue of the Gouvernor to land some Rice, and brought backe the newes with him to the English house of the cruell handling of these poore Iapons. This had been *Item* enough to the English, if they had been guilty, to shift for themselves: where- to also they had ready means by the Curricurries or small Boats of the Amboyners, which lie along the Strand in great number, wherwith they might easily haue transported themselves to *Seran*, to *Bortoon*, or to *Macassar*, out of the reach and iurisdiction of the Dutch: but in that they fled not in this case, it is a very strong presumption, that they were as little priuie to any treason of their owne, as suspicious of any treacherous traine laid for their bloods.

In the next place let it be considered, how impossible it was for the English to atchieue this pretended enterprife.

The Castle of *Amboyna* is of a very great strength (as is before declared); the Garrison therein two or three hundred men, besides as many more of their free Burgers in the Towne. What their care and circumspection in all their Forts is, may appeare not on- ly by the quick Alarm they now took at the foolish question of the poore Iapon, made to the Sentinell a- boue-

boue receited; but also by that which a little before hapned at Iaccatra, where one of their souldiers was shot to death for sleeping in the Watch.

Durst ten Englishmen (whereof not one a souldier) attempt any thing vpon such a strength & vigilancy? As for the assistance of the Iapons, they were but ten neither, and all vnarmed aswell as the English. For, as at the seizure of the English house, all the prouision therein found was but three swords, two muskets, and halfe a pound of powder: so the Iapons (except when they are in seruice of the Castle, and there armed by the Dutch) are allowed to haue no Armes, but onely a Catanne, a kinde of short sword: and it is forbidden to all the Dutch, vpon great penalty, to sell any hand-gun, powder or bullets, to the Iapons or Amboyners. But let it be imagined that these twentie persons, English and Iapons, were so desperate as to aduenture the exploit; how should they be able to master the Dutch in the Castle, or to keep possession when they had gotten it? what Seconds had they? There was neither Ship nor Pinace of the English in the harbour. All the rest of the Iapons in the Island, were not twentie persons, and not one English more. The neereft of the rest of the English, were at Banda, forty leagues from *Amboyna*; and those but nine persons, all afterwards cleered by the Gouvernor and Fiscall themselves from all suspicion of this pretended crime; as were also the rest of the English at Iaccatra.

On the other side, besides the strength of the Castle and Town of *Amboyna*, the Hollanders haue three other strong Castles, well furnished with Souldiers, in the same Island, and at Cambello neere adioyning. They had then also in the road of *Amboy-*

na eight Ships and vessels, namely, the *Rotterdam* of 1200. tun, the *Vnicorne* of 300. tun, the Free-mans vessell of 100. tun, the *Calck* of 60. tun, Captaine *Gammals Iunck* of 40. the *Flute* of 300. tun, the *Amsterdam* of 1400. tun, and a small Pinace of about 60. tun; and all these well furnished with men and munition. It is true, that the Stories doe record sundry valiant and hardy enterprises of the English Nation, and Holland is witnesse of some of them, yea, hath reaped the fruit of the English resolution; yet no Story, nor Legend scarcely reporteth any such hardinesse eyther of the English or others, That so few persons, so naked of all prouisions and supplies, should vndertake such an aduenture vpon a counterpartie, so well and abundantly fitted at all points.

But let it be further granted, that they might possibly haue overcome all these difficulties; yet to what end and purpose should they put themselues into such a ieopardie? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both Companies at home, That the Forts in the Indies should remaine respectiue in the hands of such as had possession of them at the date of the Treatie, *Ann: 1619.* and that the same was ratified by the Kings Maiestie, and the Lords States Generall. They knew likewise, and all the world takes knowledge, of his Maiesties religious obseruation of peace and treatie with all his neighbours, yea, with all the world: what reward then could these English hope for, of this their valour and danger? Certainly none other than that which is expressly provided by the Treatie it selfe, that is, To be punished as the disturbers of the common peace and amitie of both Nations.

But

But let these English-men haue been as foolish in this plot as the Hollanders will haue them; is it also to be imagined, that they were so gracelesse, as when they were condemned, and seriously admonished by the Ministers to discharge their consciences, yet then to persist in their dissimulation, being otherwise of such godly behauiour, as to spend the time in Prayer, singing of Psalmes, and spirituall comforting one another, which the Dutch would haue had them bestow in drinking, to driue away their sorrow? Let *Colsons* question to the Minister be considered: his and the rests offer and desire to receiue the Sacrament in witness of their innocencie; their mutual asking forgiveness for their like false accusations of one another, forced by the torture; *Tomsons* last farewell to *Beomont*; *Colsons* prayer, and his writing in his praier booke; *Fardo's* farewell to *Powle*; also his coniuring exhortation to his fellowes, to discharge their consciences, and all their answeres thereunto, crauing Gods mercie or iudgement, according to their innocencie in this cause; their generall and religious profession of their innocencie, to their countrey-men, at their last parting with them; & finally, the sealing of this profession with their last breath and blood, euen in the verie article of death, and in the stroke of the Executioner. What horrible and vnexampled dissimulation were this? If some one or more of them had been so fearefully desperate, yet would not there one amongst ten be found to thinke of the iudgement to come; whereunto he was then instantly summoned without Essoine, Baile, or Mainprise? What? had they hope of reprieue & life, if they kept their countenance to the last? Yet what hope had *Tomson* and

the rest, when Capt. *Towersons* head was off: Nay, what desire had *Tomson* and *Clarke* to liue, being so mangled and martyred by the torture: They were executed one by one, and euery one seuerally took it vpon his death, that he was guiltlesse.

Now to blanch and smooth ouer all this rough and barbarous proceeding; it is here giuen out, that the Gouvernor & Fiscall found such euidence of the plot, and dealt so euenly in the processe, that they spared not their owne people; hauing vsed some of their natiue *Hollanders*; partakers of this treason, in the same manner as they did the English. But this, as well by the relation here truely and faithfully set downe, grounded vpon the sworn testimonie of sixe credible witnesses, as also by other sufficient reports of diuerse (lately come out of those parts) appeareth to bee a meere tale, not once alleaged by anie in the Indies in many moneths after the execution, but only inuented and dispersed here, for a *Fucus* and false colour vpon the whole cause, and to make the world belceue that the ground of this barbarous and tyrannous proceeding was a true crime, and not the vnfatiable couetousnesse of the *Hollanders*, by this cruell treacherie to gain the sole Trade of the *Molluccos*, *Banda* and *Amboyna*; which is already become the euent of this bloody processe.

To adde hereunto by way of aggrauation, will be needlesse; the fact is so full of odious and barbarous inhumanitie, executed by *Hollanders* vpon the English Nation, in a place where both liued vnder termes of partnership and great amitie, confirmed by a most solemn Treatie.

FINIS.





A TRUE
DECLARATION OF
the News that came out of the East-
Indies, *with the Pinace called the*
HARE, which arriued in TEXEL,
in June 1624.

CONCERNING
A Conspiracy discovered in the Iland of *Amboyna*,
and the punishment following thereupon, according
to the course of justice, in *March 1624*. com-
prehended in a Letter missiue;

AND SENT
From a friend in the Low-Countries, to a friend of note
in England, for information of him in the truth
of those passages.



Printed, Anno 1624.



Right worshipfull and worthy Sir,



He great outcries which haue beene made in England, vpon the last newes which came out of the East-Indies, about a certayne execution which was done in the Iland of Amboyna, in March, 1623. because we see the great desire that your Worship hath, to keep good correspondence betwixt these two Nations, it hath caused me (beyond my owne curiosity) to search & inquire after the right & true beginnings, proceedings, and issues of these affaires, vpon which this execution followed. Wherein, I perswade my selfe, I haue attained good successe, by such meanes as I haue vsed, and by my good acquaintance, so that (at the last) I am come to the cleare light of the matter: partly by the letters that haue beene sent home, to the Company here, and declared to the States Generall, as also by a particular examination of the processe made against them in Amboyna, before their execution, and sent ouer hither, in writing, which at this present hath caused mee to write this vnto your Worship, that so, the truth may bee made knowne concerning this busines in all places, where your Worthynes, and respect, can, or may bring it to passe; that so your Worship, and all true well willers (of our Countrey,) may be no otherwise thought of than wee deserue.





He very causes and beginnings through which, the *Gouvernour*, and *Councell*, established in the name of the *United Netherlands* in *Amboyna*, came into suspicion, that some thing was plotted against that Prouince; did first flow from the great licentiousnes of the *Ternatanes* in *Moluque*, and *Amboyna*: Who, contrary to the contract of alliance, 1606. made with the High and Mighty Lords the States, attempted (without our consent, and knowledge) to make peace with the King of *Tedore*; as also truce with the *Spaniards*, (their and our ancient aduersaries) by which, the said *Ternatanes* had too much cast off all respect which they, both in regard of our confederacy, and manifold assistance, did owe to this State. The *Spaniard* also was master enough at sea, in the *Moluque*, because the *English Merchants* there, in the *East-Indies*, were vnwilling to furnish vs with ships of warre, toward the common defence; as they were bound to doe, according to the treaties 1619. to the number of ten. Through which, the voyages to *Manillia*, comming to cease, the enemy traded there, without any interruption, & procured power to send *Gallies*, *Ships*, and *Pynasses* to the *Moluque*, with great succours of people, and prouision; and that because, against the same (through the default of the *English Merchants*) there were no Ships of warre kept, as there should haue beene.

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The subjects of the King of *Ternata*, begun to commit great insolencies (otherwise than they were

were wont) against our Nation, hauing outrageously assaulted diuers of vs, diuers wayes, and also slayne some, and wee notwithstanding could not obtayne any punishment vpon them. And as one outrage (vnpunished) prouokes many more, through hope of the like impunity, or other considerations; so likewise the sayd *Ternatans* of *Amboyna*, dwelling at *Lobo*, *Cambello*, and those neere adioyning places, proceeded further, and haue armed themselves at Sea, and inuaded diuers Ilands, and places standing vnder the *Netherlands* *Gouernour* in *Amboyna*, spoyling them, and killing our subiects, and taking others, and carrying them away for slaues. And notwithstanding the instant request of the *Netherlands* *Gouernour*, no satisfaction, or iustice, hath followed; but the said *Ternatanes* are yet gone further, and openly threatned to murder the *Dutch* *Marchants*, and to spoyle and burne the *Logie*, or *Factory*, which our people haue many yeares there enjoyed: so that our Merchants haue taken out the *Dutch* goods, to auoid damage: And the *Ternatanes* at *Lobo* did actually set on fire, and ruined the said *Netherlands* *Factory*. In the *Manichells* (an Iland being vnder the Prouince of *Amboyna*) they haue in like manner, shortly after, burned the *Netherlands* *Logie*, with the losse of all the goods therein. The *Netherlands* *Gouernour*, that by his presence, and authority, hee might cause such rebellions to cease, and to giue order for time to come, and also to seeke satisfaction and punishment vpon the foresaid insolencies; went toward *Lobo*, with a small power of sloopes: and comming there-about,

was

was mett (otherwise than was wont) by a nauy of
 floopes of the *Ternatanes* of *Lobo*, stronger than
 his were. These (by their conference) gaue him
 well to knowe, how little reuerence they gaue the
Dutch Gouverneur: they braued him, without hope of
 restitution of any thing to come: so that (nothing
 done) he was faine to returne to his Castle of *Am-
 boyna*. By reason of these things, the sayd *Ternatanes*
 became so stout and daring, that they gaue out o-
 penly, that they would come, and spoile our sub-
 iects by a generall army, with aboue a 100. *Frig-
 gets*: with these, they said they would come against
Amboyne, to make a vniuersall spoile of our people;
 Through which, there came a great feare vpon the
Indians, standing vnder the subiection of the High
 and Mighty Lords the States, as also ouer the *Ne-
 therlanders*.

In the Ilands lying farre Eastward of *Banda*, it
 was also said, and the newes went currantly there,
 That the *Hollanders* were sure enough quit of the
 Castle of *Amboyne*; And at that time there were di-
 uers secrete correspondencies betweene the *In-
 dians*, and others, which gaue vs great suspicion. By
 this meanes the *Netherlands Gonerneur*, & Councell
 of *Amboyne*, were moued to haue speciall regard, and
 looke narrowly vnto all things, seeing that it might
 bee thence clearly gathered, that something might
 bee plotted against the State in *Amboyne*, and that the
Indians (of themselves) durst not offer to vn-
 dertake any such great designe, without some
 great helpe of some of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards*,
Portugalls, or some others; and also they vnderstood,
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that they of *Lobo*, *Cambello*, &c. had great secret correspondence with the *English* Merchants. When things were in such a state in *Amboyna*, there came forth, and was wonderfully discovered, in February 1623. a horrible conspiracie, against the Castle, and Person of the *Dutch Gournour*, and the whole state of *Amboyna*: and first, by the apprehension of a certaine *Iaponian* (a complice of the feare) who at an vnseasonable time was often scene vpon the wall of the Castle, where he also ouer-curiously enquired of the most vnskilfull and sillyest souldiers, touching, the setting, and change of the *Watch*, and what number of people might bee in the Castle, and many other things. Whereupon, in the very act, the said *Iaponian* was apprehended, and being examined of many circumstances, hee confessed, that the *Iaponian* souldiers, vnder our seruice, had decreed to make themselves Masters of the Castle; and that they should haue set vpon this by the helpe of the *English*, who had sollicitated them vnto it; and that hee, with all the other *Iaponians* in the *English* house, oftentimes within three moneths before-going, had conferred with the *English* (whome he there named, by their names) touching the manner, whereby they should bring this treachery to passe. Hereupon it came to passe, that all the *Iaponian* souldiers which were in our seruice, were disarmed, and imprisoned, and by examination of them all, it appeared playnly, by an orderly and ioynt-confession, that all the said *Iaponians*, vpon the intreaty of *Gabriel Tower-son*, and other *English* Merchants, and Officers, agreed to assist the said *English* to betray the Castle, and to giue

giue it over into the English Power; and that *Gabriel Towerfon*, and *Abel Price* (an English Chirurgion) and other English, dealt often with them, (whom hee named by their names) of the way and meanes, how they should worke it; the said *Abel Price* being before imprisoned for a foule and execrable fact, and yet remayning in durance.

And although it appeared sufficiently to the Governour; and Councel of *Amboyna*, out of the confession of the Iaponians, what the said *Gabriel Towerfon* with his Merchants, and other complices, had before resolved to do, and that the Councell had sufficient information to imprison them all; yet the *Generall Councell* would not precipitate, but commanded the said *Abel Price*, (who was in prison) to come before the Councell, and (after the places, persons, and time nominated to him, where, and when hee had dealt with the *Iaponians*, and other English, about the said treachery) it was also from him well vnderstood, how hee (in the name, and by the command of *Gabriel Towerfon*) and another Iaponian, (who was then also in prison) had perswaded all the Iaponians to consent to this villany, and that consequently the said *Towerfon*, as the *first Authour*, and all the other English Merchants, (being in the *Forraigne Cantore* of the Prouince of *Amboyna*) had also knowledge of the said treachery.

Vpon this full and vniforme examination, and confession of 12. persons, as well of the 11. Iaponians, as one English, is the said *Gabriel Towerfon* called to the Councell; and there appearing, the said *Towerfon* called together all his people vnto the Castle, vpon

the request of the *Generall Councell*, who were there taken, and imprisoned, except the said *Gabriel Tower-son* himselfe: to whom (vpon his request) and in regard of his quality, being chiefe merchant in *Amboyna*, in the name of the *English Company*; his owne house was allotted him for his safe keeping, and forth comming. And the said prisoners were all lawfully and orderly examined, and it appeared by them ioyntly, according to their owne confession (euery one hauing vnde. written it with his owne hand) as followeth.

H *Gabriel Tower-son*, about *New-yeares day 1623.* hauing with him almost all the *English Merchants* of the *Forraigne Cantore* in *Amboyna*, he assembled them in his chamber, and propounded to them, that he had something of *great moment*, to impart vnto them, (which *hee alone* could not effect) vnder the fidelity of an *oath* to bee taken *before*, for the keeping secret thereof, and being trusty therein; saying, It is necessary so to bee; for if the thing should come abroad, which I shall make knowne vnto you, it will cost all our liues. Whereupon the holy *Gospell* was produced; vpon which, euery one who was present, did sweare secrecy and fidelity, as was required. Then *Tower-son* (after a *preface*) opened to the conspirators, how hee had a way and meanes to make himself *Master* of the *Castle* of *Amboyna*. And wheras some present made it difficult to doe, being too weake for it: the said *Tower-son* answered, That hee had already won to his purpose the *Iaponian* souldiers who were in the *Castle*, and that they should execute his purpose when the *Dutch*, who were in
the

the Castle, were in their greatest weakenesse, and worst provided, or (*unawares*) when the *Gouverneur* should bee absent, about some exploit; and that they should waite till some *English* ships, or ship, were in *Amboyna*, whose people hee might employ in this attempt; as also, when as all other the *English* Merchants, and slaues of the *Forraigne Cantore* in *Amboyna*, should be sent for to the Castle: And said further, That hee knew how to get men enow, and they should leave this to his care, and themselves do their best; and that they of *Loha* should also come to helpe him with certaine *Curricuories*, &c. vpon which inducements, all that were present swore to assist *Towerfon* herein. And concerning the maner of execution, the said *Towerfon* had prescribed to the *Iaponians*, which were in the Castle, that they should send to euery point of the Bulwarkes, two men, and the rest in the court attend the *Gouverneur*, and to murder him; and that at the signe which should be giuen by the *English*, they should make themselves *Masters* of euery point of the bulwarke, and kill all who should resist, and imprison the rest; and further should take, and diuide betweene themselves, and the *Iaponians*, the goods of the *Dutch East-India Company*, except a 1000. rials of 8. which euery *Iaponian* should haue before, and that they should kill the citizens who would not consent with them, and do them all the mischief they could. And touching the time, hee had not yet certainly set it, but that there should suddenly bee another assembly of the conspirators, when *Gabriel Towerfon* would giue order for all things, and giue a signe to the *Iaponians*,

ponians; whereupon, when they shewed it, they should begin the worke within.

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The said *Gabriel Towerfon* being asked in particular, what moued him to such a wicked fact; hee answered, The desire of *Honour* and *Profit*. Being further demanded, who should enioy that Honour and Profit, and for whome hee would haue taken the Castle: he answered, That if he did obtaine his desire, hee should presently haue aduertised those of his Nation being in *Batavia*, and called for their helpe, who if they had sent him succour, hee would haue kept the Castle for his owne company (viz. for the *English East-Indian Company*) and if not, he would haue held it for himselfe, and haue endeouored a peace with the Indians, that so by the one meanes or the other, hee might attayne his purpose.

M

After the examination of *Towerfon* was ended, the *Dutch Governour* in *Amboyna* vpb rayded *Towerfon* of his cruell intent, and asked, if this should haue beene the recompence of the manifold honours, and kindneses hee had done vnto him. Whereto *Towerfon* answered with a deepe sigh, *Oh*, if it were to bee begun, it should not bee done. This voluntary confession, and penitent acknowledgement, with much sorrow, was made the 9. of March, being the day when the execution should haue beene done; but the examination of *Towerfon* was ended the 18. of February, so many dayes before. This is the substance of the confessions of 10. Iaponians, of 14. English, and of a *Neatherlandish Merinho*, or *Captaine* of the *Slaves*; who all confirmed these their confessions with their owne hands.

What

What crime this intended prodiction was, is hence very manifest, and vndoubted: what punishment is due to treachery, according to the law and customes of all nations, is also well knowne: no true Christian man will patronage any such horrible attempt, but will adiudge it worthy of death, as it was determined vpon the complices of this conspiracy, according to order of iustice, as there in *Amboyna* it is exercised (according to desert) by the Governour and Councelly, in the name of the *High and Mighty Lords, the States*.

Here you haue (Sir) the very substance of the truth, both of the fact and punishment; other than which, many things are spread abroad in England, but vpon what pretence, or intendement, I know not; let the matter it selfe speake for it selfe.

The first point, which is objected against this iustice done in *Amboyna*, is concerning the proceedings; which are said to bee holden without formality, and with extreimity, against these conspirators: Your Worship (and each reasonable man) knoweth, that euery land hath their lawes, and ordinances, and their particular manner of proceedings, as well in Ciuill as in Criminall causes: *England* hath hers. *France, Spaine, Dutchland, Netherland*, and all other *Kingdomes and Gouvernements* haue also theirs, which are iust & lawfull to euery one in their dominion; so that, when any man will iudge of the equity or iustice of a proceeding vsed in any land, he must examine the same according to the lawes and customes of that Kingdom or dominion, where the iustice and proceedings were holden. These proceedings

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dings were holden by the *Netherlandish* Governor, in
 the name of the illustrious *Lords the States*, having su-
 preame power, many yeares since in the *Iles of Am-
 boyna*, which were conquered (in the name of the
 said *Lords the States*) from the *Spaniards*, or *Portu-
 galls*, who held that Castle in the name of the King of
Spaine, our hereditary enemy; therefore they are
 now possessed in the name of the *Lords the States*, and
 are vnder their dominion, by a iust and lawfull title
 of warre, according to the law of *Nations*. There (a-
 mong other things) iustice is administred according
 to the lawes of the *Netherlands*, in that manner as
 was vsed in the proceedings against these conspira-
 tors. I know that the lawes of *England* are diuers
 from ours in criminall cases, yea, & from all the Na-
 tions in *Europe*: howbeit therefore, no man hath any
 ground of reason to say, that the proceedings of
 the *English Judges* (holden in *England*) against delin-
 quents, are not legitimate; though the said *English*
 proceedings doe vary in the manner from the
 proceedings of *France*, *Spayne* &c. where other cu-
 stomes are: so that is lawfull, which agreeth with the
 lawes of that land where the fact is committed.
 Now then the *Japonian* souldiers, being in the ser-
 uice of the *Netherlands Company* in *Amboyne*, are
 discovered to haue conspired against the Castle and
 the *Gouernment* there, vnder whose oath & pay they
 were; they were apprehended, and examined, and
 conuicted of the said conspiracy. This proceeding is
 lawfull, and toucheth no man, because the said *Ja-
 ponians* knew no other Master, than the *Netherlan-
 ders*, vnder whose oath, seruice, and pay they stand.

All

(II)

All these *Iaponian* conspirators with the said *Merincho*, a *Captayne* of the *Netherlands* Slaues, confessed with one mouth, that they were moued and induced to this conspiracy, by the *English* Merchants resident in *Amboyna*, whose names they named. Now, not only the right of *Netherland*, but of *England*, and of the whole world requireth, that the authors, abettors & complices of murther and treason, should bee punished with death; whereto, according to the common lawes, as also the particular lawes of euery Kingdome or Dominion, the suspected persons first, and before all, should bee imprisoned, not only for preuenting the effect of their euill purpose, but that they might also receiue their deserued punishment: which apprehensions, could not (*in that place*) bee done by any other man, than by the command of the *Netherlands* *Gouernor*, to whom it belongeth to take care, to see euery act concerning supream power, to be there obserued; & specially (al other reasons ceasing) the highest *English* *Officers* there, could not apprehend these *English* conspirators, because all the chiefe of the *English* Merchants in *Amboyna* were themselves of the conspiracy, and complices of the fact, vpon which the apprehension was made. Therefore the apprehension of the *English* complices, must bee done by the *Dutch* *Gouernour*, who therefore hath therein proceeded according to the custome of all Nations of the world. And that these apprehensions may bee holden more lawfull, it appeareth out of the written proceffe, that the said *English* complices were not imprisoned vpon the first suspicions and grosse evidences, which

H

were

were had against them, but then at last, when all the *Iaponian* souldiers were taken, examined, and convicted, and had discovered by the vniforme confession of all the 11. the names and sur-names of such *English* as had perswaded and hyred them to this fact; of which *English*, one (viz. *Abel Price*, Barber) was before apprehended (as an *Incendiary*) for burning and violence done vpon other houses, who also was first examined, and first confessed (as the other 11. *Iaponians*) that he (by name, *Gabriel Tower-son*) and other *English Marchants*, whom hee named by their names, had suborned the said *Iaponian* souldiers; and that all the *English Marchants* in the *Forraigne Cantores* in *Amboyna*, had knowledge of this conspiracy, &c. So that it may bee seene, out of that which went before, that the *Dutch Gouvernour* dealt no otherwise in the apprehension, & examination of the *English*, than according to his place, and power, and that with great discretion, according to the lawes of these *Vnited Prouinces*.

Obiect. 2.

Q

The second point which is abusiuely dispersed in *England*, against this execution, is, that it is said, that it did not appertain to the *Netherlanders* in *Amboyna* to imprison the said *English*, and to proceede against them, or to punish them; but that it did belong to the *Councell of defence* resident at *Iaquetra*, consisting half of *English* & half of *Netherlanders*, according to the treaty of the yeare 1619. made betweene his *Maiesty* and the *Lords the States*, betweene the two *East-India Companies*. That I might the better informe my selfe thereof, I tooke in hand, and perused the generall treaty of 1619. with the explication following ther-vpon;

vpon ; but I professe, that (as I thinke) euery vnderstanding man, (not louing discord) must confesse, that neither in the said treaty, nor in the enlargement, any one article or word could be perceiued, wherby (according to that which is vntruely said in *England*) either this, or any such thing is ordayned, or decided, by the said treaty ; as it ought to haue clearely beene in so great and important a point, as this part of iurisdiction is. I appeale to all wise men, who I desire may iudge of this, whether this speech of some in *England* (to wit, that the said Councell of defence should (alone) haue iudged these conspirators) bee agreable to the said treaty, or contrary to the same. I finde many arguments for my negatiue opinion, to wit, that before the treaty of 1619. the *Dutch* in *Amboyna* administred iurisdiction, and iudicature, vpon all and euery one who dwelt in or vnder the iurisdiction of the Castle, as well inhabitants as strangers, without difference ; and that in this said treaty, the *Dutch*, with the *Englisb Merchants*, made onely a league in the matter of commerce and negotiation of *Nutmegs, Mace, Cloues, and Pepper*, in some quarters, without hauing any further treaty, or communication in the land ; so that without the bounds of this common negotiation, euery one remained free, and vn-hyndered in the land, by the right and possession which either Company enioyed and exercised seuerally ; according as the same appeareth out of the 23. article of the treaty: where it is expressely said ; *That Castles and Forts shall remayne in their hands who at present doe possesse them* : And out of the 13. 14. 15. articles of the treaty,

ty, all may see, that this common Councell of *Defence* hath no more power, saue onely ouer the fellowship of the treaty, that is, ouer the Nauy of defence in the Sea, to the defence of the common Merchandize, and liberty of commerce; and lastly, to taxe the charges for the prouision of munition in the Forts: neither can any other thing be sincerely collected out of the said treaty, so farre as I can conceiue. Therefore this second point is found to be vntrue and abusiuē, being not founded vpon the said treaty, which treaty (notwithstanding) ought to bee the onely rule, both of the one and the other Company.

R

Finally, it is giuen out in *England*, that in the examination of the Conspirators there was excesse in the *Netherlands* Iudges, in the point of *Torture*. I acknowledge, that no argument or pretext against the iustice of this execution, hath more mooued mee in the beginning, than this pretence of excesse aforesaid, because this stirreth Christian compassion; although I also iudge, that wise men will not suffer themselves to bee too much transported thereby, before the true reasons doe fully appeare, which should moue vs thereunto. For, I well remember yet, that in the time of former mistakings in the *Indies*, many things were pretended on both parts, vpon which, there were great outcries on either side, which yet, by due examination, were found to be (though faire, yet) false pretexts of some ill-willers, and men desirous to wrangle: which pretences being thoroughly sifted by the High and much admired wisdomē of his *Maiesty*, and the *Lords* the
States,

States, were well discovered to be no such matters as they were made: as it is also vndoubtedly to be beleued, that his *Maiesty*, and the *States* will yet further doe in this affaire; and so the cause of the *Dutch Company* may bee (in the carriage hereof) rightly iustified. Of which I vnderstand that the *Lords* the *States* haue speciall regard, and that they haue beene thoroughly informed, what is the very truth of the things there past, and of the execution in *Amboyna* vpon the *English* Conspirators. Vnto which end the *Lords* the *States* resolved to see and peruse all the papers and letters, touching the said proceedings: And now thereupon men speake farre otherwise than heretofore; for pretences and cauills (being once detected) cannot stand with truth. And it doth plainly appeare, that there is little truth in the matter of torture, reported to bee most cruelly inflicted vpon these *English* Conspirators, as in *England* it is said. And I haue euer suspected this for a slander: for I know the *Dutch* Nation doth naturally abhorre this kinde of cruelty, and are as much moued to commiseration, as any other people. But whether these euill minded men, who haue scattered this great slander in *England*, and haue so fowly defaced a iust cause, haue done it by occasion of our vse of tortures in these lands, in some weighty causes, according to the custome of the most dominions of *Europe*; I cannot iudge. But is that to bee censured and iudged to bee vniust of the whole world; which is repugnant to the lawes of *England*, (or any one Nation) where torture is rarely vsed? Nothing so, but the iustice or iniustice of a cause,

must bee (as aforesaid) determined, according to
 the lawes where it is done, and not of other lands.
 If this were not so, why then should not the whole
 world much more iudge that as a hard, and a thing
 vnheard, (and therefore condemnable) which in some
 cases is vsed in *England*, according to the lawes
 there, when they proceed against some guilty per-
 son; who being once and againe asked of the Iudge,
 and vtterly refusing to bee legally tried, is adiud-
 ged as dumbe, that is, by contumacy; whose con-
 demnation then accordingly followeth, That hee is
 laid vpon a table, or planke, and another planke vpon
 him, and so much weight of stone or lead laid vpon
 him, that his body is miserably bruised, and so pres-
 sed violently to death. The which, according to the
 confession of all nations, (especially, because this
 kinde of iustice is not vsed in other lands) and
 by the *English* writers, is iudged to bee one of the
 most sharpe and seuerer kindes of death, that can
 be inuented; yet cannot such an execution bee cal-
 led cruell and vnlawfull when it is done in *England*,
 because it is done according to the lawes of that
 land, though strangers shall iudge otherwise of it.
 And in like manner the *English* nation cannot com-
 plaine of the torture which euill willers say, was
 vsed vpon these *English* Conspirators in *Amboyna*,
 because it was done according to the lawes of this
Gouernment, and is not vnusual in cases of treason, nei-
 ther with vs, nor (almost) any Nation in *Europe*.
 And for *England* it selfe, it is well knowne (and his
 most excellent *Maiessty* doth acknowledge by his
 owne *Princely* pen) that the *Rack*, & the *Manacles*, are
 the

the onely tortures, that are exercised vpon Traytors, to force them to confesse, (*without concealement*) what they knowe to bee dangerous to the *State*.

And to say the truth, without taking parts, the *Eng-lish* Conspirators being affronted with the vniforme and written confessions, of the 11. *Iaponians* (their Complices) which could conuince them sufficiently, according to the lawes, and finde them guilty of the same conspiracy, and consequently of death: if now, notwithstanding this, they had persisted in the stout deniall of the fact, were not this (to speake according to the manner in *England*) enough to iudge them dumb by contumacy, and so to esteeme them worthy of this sore punishment of pressing to death, as is aforesaid? But this torture of ours (if any in *Amboyna* were so tortured) is to bee iudged farre lesse than that pressing, where the malefactor doth suffer such extreame misery as cannot bee imagined, and which is not to bee lenified or eased at all, but ended by death. But to the sufficient satisfaction of my selfe, and your Worship, and all men, and not to speake according to the sentence, and conscience of others; I haue vsed all diligence to get into my hands the written *processe*, concerning the Conspirators in *Amboyna*; which I obtained authentically, and read carefully: and I finde that all that is by mee abouesaid, is confirmed, to wit, That the *Iaponian* Complices were examined, and made their confessions as aforesaid, for three dayes, viz. the 23. 24. 25. of Feb. 1623. and that all this being done, and consummated before, then at last, is *Gabriel Towerison*, first with the rest of
the

the *English* Complices, imprisoned, the said 25. of February, when their examination and confession began, and continued diuers dayes without ouer-hasting, till the 3. of March. And the said examinations and confessions being so finished, the *Netherlands Gouvernour*, and *Cou ncell*, deliberated whether the punishment might bee deferred to any long time, or referred to any other place; but it was so concluded, by ioynt consent of all, that the said punishment (there deserued) must bee executed in the same place, *for example*, and that it could not (in any wise) bee delaied without extreame danger, for reasons there related; and among others, because the *Ternatanes*, and *Indians* about *Amboyna*, had otherwise than they were wont, rebelled; neither could it bee fully knowne, what great confederacy these Conspirators had made with them, and others. And touching any extraordinary and cruell torture, I haue accurately ouer-looked euery ones confession, but I finde not one word in any one, which maketh any mention of such torture, as is vniustly spoken of in *England*; nay, scarce finde any mention of that ordinary torture, which is in vse, saue only these words, in one act of the 25. of Feb. 1623. viz. *The Councell being gathered together, haue thought meete, that all the English should be presently examined one after another (as accordingly it was instantly done) and some of them, before any torture; others, after a little (or rather a touch) of it, confessed as followeth.* Vnto which, followeth presently the particular confession of each one, subscribed with his owne hand, as aforesaid. So that hence it is manifest, that no extraordinary

traordinary torture was vsed, in such manner as is giuen-out there, by those that wish vs euill; nay, that those *few* that felt any, were onely touched (not punished) with ordinary torture.

And thus your *worship* hath the vpright and impartiall truth of this businesse, touching the whole passage as it proceeded, and the punishment, as it was inflicted; from which, some *English* were exempted by fauour, that the *English* goods should not be lost, according as order hath beene giuen to that end: And I finde that the sentence was giuen the 9. of March, 1623. by a competent assembly of 14. Iudges, who (as it appeareth in the sentence) in the doing thereof, did (*before*) earnestly call vpon the name of the *Lord*, that hee would please to be president and predominant in euery one of their hearts, in this their *sorrowfull assembly*; and that hee would inspire them onely with that which might bee iudged to bee expedient and iust, &c. So that out of all that is aboue said, nothing else can appeare, but that this businesse was managed lawfully, and orderly, by men of honesty and conscience, against such as had vndertaken against the *State*, against the wealth and aduantage of this *East-India Company*, the liues of their *Officers* there placed, against the estate and welfare of many, who had little deserued, and as little expected, such wickednes from their friendly confederates in the same society of *Marchants*, there resident with them.

And now (considering the premisses) I hope it shall bee farre from euery *Christian* in any wise to protect or excuse this wicked fact, but rather to

repurue and griene (as we doe) for this conspiracy, and for the euill the conspirators haue so *deseruedly* drawne vpon their owne heads; and to honour them, who in iustice haue punished villany, according to the due merit thereof: for wee all know, that without *IUSTICE*, without reward of that which is *Good*, and punishment of that which is *Euill*, no society of mankinde can consist.

And of this information (which I send in loue, and honour, to your *worship*, as vnto a *louer of Truth*, and a *hater of Treachery*) you may make such vse, as to you shall seeme good, in any place where you come, both for *refutation* of any thing already reported contrary thereunto, and for *preuention* of any further false rumors, or clamors; and finally, for *propagation* of that vndoubted truth, which *here* (to my best) I haue endeauoured to discover. And if you shall meete with any thing of worth which can be truly auowed to bee contradictory vnto any thing I haue written, I desire to vnderstand it from you, and you to suspend your *wise* and impartiall iudgement, till I haue cleared it vnto you. *TRUTH* remaineth euer the same. So I commend you to the *God of truth*, desiring him to giue vs mindes, *Not to iudge according to outward appearance, but to iudge with a righteous iudgement.*



From my Lodging, July 23. 1624.

THE
ANSWER
VNTO THE DUTCH
PAMPHLET,
MADE IN DEFENCE
OF THE VNIVST AND BAR-
barous proceedings against the
ENGLISH at

AMBOYNA

In the East-Indies, by the HOLL-
LANDERS *there.*



Printed at London, *Anno*
M.DC.XXIV.

ANSWER

AND ANSWERS

TO THE

QUESTIONS

AND

AMBOYNA

QUESTIONS

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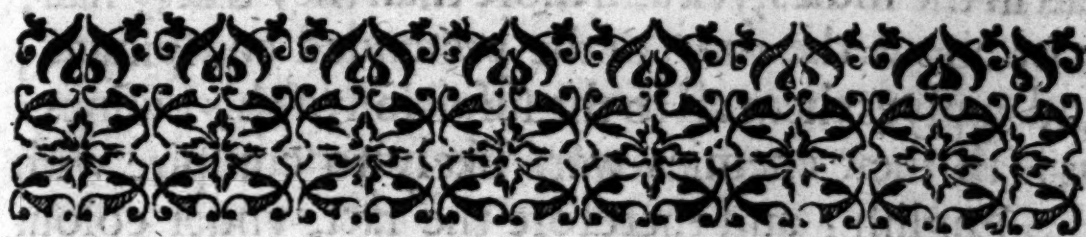
AND

QUESTIONS



Printed at London

M.D.C.XXIV



AN ANSWER
TO THE DUTCH RE-
LATION, TOVCHING THE PRE-
tended Conspiracie of the ENGLISH at
AMBOYNA *in the Indies.*

THE Compiler of this relation, perceiuing that hee had an hard taske, to make it probable, that eighteen Englishmen, Merchants and their seruants, all vnarmed, should, with the helpe and assistance of tenne Iapons, likewise vnarmed, vndertake the surprize of a Castle, so prouided euery way, as that of Amboyna, is before in the relation of the English truely described to bee: also the same Author well weighing, that albeit all that he was to write of this pretended Conspiracie, should bee taken for true, yet the fact would seeme very poore, to beare so rigorous a punishment in persons of that qualitie, and of that relation to those that inflicted it; prouides more skilfully than fairely, for both these points in the preamble of this relation: To this end, he takes and heapes together all the iealousies and dangers that the Dutch

had in the Indies, yea and more than they truly had, at or about the time of the pretended conspiracie, and applies them all to the suspicion of this busines: as if all their enemies were likely to conspire with the English; and therefore the fact, vnder colour whereof they were condemned and executed, were possible and probable, and as if the state of the time had bin then so dangerous, that euery shadow of conspiracy was to bee exquisitely enquired of, and the least offence to be seuerely punished. Wherefore although this be no direct charge of the English, but vsed by the Author to supply the want of probabilities in the processe it selfe, it will not be amisse to examine the seuerall circumstances, and how far they may yeeld any suspicion against the said English.

A

Now this Author taketh the maine grounds of this suspicion of some great plot against the Province of Amboyna, from the vnwonted boldnesse and insolencies of the Ternatans; first in the Moluccoes, and then in Amboyna. For those in the Moluccoes, he saith, they had lately before the pretended conspiracy of the English, gone about, contrary to the Treatie, *Anno 1606.* betweene them and the Dutch, to make peace with the King of Tedore, and truce with the Spaniard, without the consent or knowledge of them, the Dutch: which how honestly and conscionably it is alleaged to this purpose, may appeare by the Iournalls of those parts; which evidently shew, that this Treatie betweene those of Ternata and Tedore, was in Nouember, 1621. that is to say, fiftene moneths before this forged conspiracie; and that with the knowledge of *Houtman*, the Gouvernour of the Dutch, who, vpon the

the

the 19 of Nouember the yeare aforesaid, acquainted M. *Nichols*, the Agent of the English in those parts, with the preparations of this Treatie, which was actually holden at Ternata the 24. of the same month. But the matter was so well handled by the Dutch, to keepe those neighbour Islands in perpetuall warre, that the Treatie was dissolued *re infectâ*, And the seventh of December following, an Edict was published by the King of Ternata, commanding all the Tedorians forthwith to depart the Island of Ternata, vpon paine to be made slaues. After this, the correspondence betweene the Dutch and Ternatans in the Moluccoes, returned into as firme state as cuer; the Ternatans performing daily exploits against the Spaniards, and communicating the triumph with the Dutch: As the seventeenth of February 1622. being a full yeare before the feined treason of the English, the King of Ternata, with twentie Curricuries, tooke a Spanish Galley, slew fortie in fight, and took 150 prisoners, whom they sold to the Dutch for Cloth and Rice: and comming by the Hollanders Castle of Maalaio, the eighteenth of the same moneth, with the heads of diuers Spaniards at his Stern, the Dutch saluted him from their said Castle with nine shot of great Ordnance. The 25. of Aprill following, the Admirall of the King of Ternata tooke a Prow of the Spaniards, slew some, and sold the rest to the Dutch. The 28. of the same moneth, both Dutch and English were feasted by the King of Ternata. The 22. of May next ensuing, the king of Ternata went forth to Machian with fixe Curricuries, and at his departure was honoured with thirty shot of great Ordnance from the Dutch Castle. The 15. of June

June, the Admirall of the King of Ternata made a voyage towards Mindanow, carrying diuerse of the Dutch with him to assist him. The third of Iuly, the Ternatanes tooke other prisoners, and sold them to the Dutch. The 24. of August, the king of Ternata made one *Vogler* a Dutch Merchant, his Treasurer; at whose instalment in his new office, the Dutch gaue seuen great shot from the Castle. And this good correspondence, betweene the Ternatans and the Dutch in the Moluccoes, continued euen vntill, and after the execution of the English at Amboyna: which was (as hath beene shewed) in March 1623. *new stile*. Vpon the 14. of which moneth, the Dutch gaue the king of Ternata, and other Blacks, two hundred Bails of Iapan Rice, with other presents: at the deliuerie whereof, there were shot off from the Castle seuen peeces of Ordnance, and three Vollies of small shot. By all which may appeare, how sincerely this Author applyeth the diffidence betweene the Dutch and the king of Ternata, which was now none at all, to this businesse of Amboyna,

B The next point is, that the Ternatans in the Moluccoes went about also to make truce with the Spaniards, without consent or knowledge of the Dutch: wherein this dealing of the Author is worse than the former. For this Treatie of truce appeareth by the Iournalls, to haue beene holden the 19. of Iuly 1623. which was fife moneths after the execution of the English at Amboyna, and so came too late to moue suspition against them.

C And yet this pretended feare and iealousie of the Moluccoes is further amplified by the strength of the Spaniard, beeing then (as this Author affirmeth) Master

ster of the sea there, and that by default of the English; who, contrary to the treaty of the year 1619. had deserted the defense, and sent no more ships, neither to the Moluccoes, nor to the Manillias: whence now the Spaniards had means to send Ships, Gallies, and Pinaces, to the Moluccoes. What the strength of the Spaniard in the Moluccoes (by sea) was, at the time of this pretended feare, may appeare by the exploits before-mentioned, done vpon them by the Curricuries of the Tenatans, without helpe of the Hollanders. But for the default of the English, which is heer odiously alledged, it will be requisite to set downe the true causes wherefore the English relinquished the action of defense, aswel at the Manillias, as elsewhere; being a matter much aggrauated vpon all occasions by the Hollanders, albeit themselves haue giuen the cause thereof. Wherefore briefly, the true motives of the English, there desisting from the action of defense, were as followeth. The English had, by agreement of the Councell of defense, two yeers together maintained a Fleet of five tall & warlike ships, to ioinc with the like strength of the Hollanders, for the action of the Manillias, and the profit of the voyage (as the charge) to bee common to both Companies. The Dutch prepared another Fleet of seven shippes, all of their owne, for Macao, bordering vpon Chyna, neer the Manillias, without giuing knowledge thereof to the English at Iaccatra, vntill their Fleet was ready to depart thence; well knowing, that vpon such warning it would be impossible for the English to prepare a like force to ioyne with them. To those they appointed also eight Pinaces that were then abroad, to ioin; and afterwards

sent another ship with provisions ynto them. This Fleet passing by two of the English ships, which were appointed for that quarter of the Manillaes, the English welcomed them, and offered to joyn with them in their exploit. Which the Dutch refused, saying, That this being an exploit of their owne, the English should neither participate of the fact, nor of the benefit that might arise thereby. Likewise, by agreement of the Councell of defense of both Nations, there was another Fleet of ten shippes set forth at the equall charge of the English and Dutch, for the coast of Mallabar, to secure the trade in that part. Of the Dutch ships (about a moneth after they set saile) two were found to bee so weak and leak, that they were faine to returne to Iaccatra. The rest being comne to their quarter, two of the best of the Dutch ships were sent away by the Dutch Admirall, for the red Sea; contrary to their instructions and commission at Iaccatra from the Councel of defense, and notwithstanding the protestations, obtestations, and exclamations of the English against this preuarication. So that foure Caracks of the Portugals coming that way, the rest of the Fleet of the English and Dutch being thus weakned by the default of the foure Dutch ships aforesaid; the fairest oportunity that euer hapned, eyther before or since the joyning of the English and Dutch Companies, or is euer likely to offer it self in the future, was lost and vterly defeated. By this it appeareth, what cause the Dutch haue to complaine of the English for deserting the action of defense, and what reason and encouragement the English haue to continue the joynt action and charge with those that vse so little sincerity, euer contriuing the common actions

actions and charge to their priuate aduantage; that when the joynt forces are imployed to giue the enemy work in one part, they (the Hollanders) might with ease oppresse them in another, and appropriate the whole benefit to themselves.

The next suspicion that this Author gathereth, is from the insolencies of the Ternatans of Amboyna, dwelling at Loho and Cambello, and thereabouts; who (as this Author saith) presumed now, beyond former exāple, to outrage the subjects of the Dutch, slaying them, and carrying them away for slaues, yea burning two of their houses, one at Loho, & another at Manichells: for which when the Gouvernor went out with a Fleet to craue justice and reparation, hee was braued by the Ternatans with a stronger Fleet than his owne; yea, they threatned to come with an hundred Curricurries against Amboyna.

This dealing of the Authour is like the former about the Treatie of peace with the Tedorians, and truce with the Spaniards. For when the Gouvernour of Amboyna set forth the last Fleet of Curricurries before the apprehension of the English, hee stood on good tearmes with the Ternatans at Loho; neither of the Factories heere mentioned beeing then burnt or injured. The Gouvernour then went onely, according to his yeerely custome, to visit the skirts and out-parts of Amboyna, and had no affront offered him. After that, vpon occasion of a slaue of the English that ranne away, and, being afterwards laid hold on, was rescued by a reputed holy man of or neere that part; the English craued assistance of the Dutch Gouvernour: who did his best, but was therein abused by those of Loho; and not only some of his men

D

outraged, but the English Factor Master *Beomont* was way-laid by the people of the said holy man: and, in stead of him, one of the servants of the Dutch was slain between Cambello and Loho. The next day also, was *Beomont* himself assailed, and shot in the hand by the same holy mans people, who also a little before did their best to kill *William Grigs*, another of the English Factors, that finding the said slaue at Loho, laid hold on him there. Vpon this occasion, both the English and Dutch left their Factorie at Loho, which was shortly after burnt by those Ternatans. That other, touching the burning of the Factorie at Manichells, is more grossely applyed than the former; for that Factorie was burnt after the English were apprehended: besides that, this Author dissembleth that there was a vehement and common suspicion at Amboyna, that this Factorie at Manichells was burnt, not by the Ternatans, but by the Dutch Factor himself, who, being there alone, was said to haue first conueied away the goods of the Dutch and the English there for his owne vse, and then to haue burnt the Factorie; laying the fact vpon the Ternatans.

After this indeed, the Gouvernour of Amboyna made out a Fleet of Curricurries, to procure reparation of those excesses; and therein not going so strong as he might, was braued by those Ternatans of Amboyna. But this was after the apprehension and execution of the English; and so is as honestly applyed to moue suspicion in this place, as the ioint quarrell of the English and Dutch with those of Loho, beginning vpon occasion of the English; & as the burning of the Factorie at Manichells, done after the English

lish were apprehended and imprisoned. As for the threats of the Ternatans here mentioned, that they would come with 100. Curricurries against Amboyna, it is (for ought any of the English ever heard) a meere fiction; at most, it was a vaine bragge, and such as could not affright the Gouvernour, that knoweth well that the Ternatans haue no gun-powder, nor other prouissions, for such an exploit; and yet are far behinde the Gouvernour of Amboyna for number of Curricurries, besides the Dutch ships and Castles.

The next cause of suspicion, this Author makes to be an idle report in the East parts beyond Banda (vn-certain what, or by whom) that the Hollanders were already quit of their Castle at Amboyna. A poore pretence, and not worthy to bee answered; yet still further discouering what penury of good matter this Author had, that he was faine to borrow such crazie stuffe.

But the last, and that which alone is expressly applied to the English, is, That about this time the Dutch vnderstood, that those of Loho and Cambello held great and secret correspondence with the English. How did the Dutch vnderstand this? or why doth not this Author expresse the particular prooffe, in a matter so pertinent? It is true, the English had their Factories at Loho and Cambello; but in the same houses with the Dutch, and for their ioint accompt, and had trafficke with the countrey-people, as the Dutch had: but what secret correspondencie is this? or what danger to the Dutch? Was the burning of the Factories, which belonged to the English as well as to the Dutch, a note of good intelligence between the English and the Incendiaries? What was that for

E

F

correspondencie with those of Loho, when at one time they way-laid M. *Bedmont* to kill him, and at another time shot him in the hand with an arrow, offered to kill *William Grigs*, and from time to time abused and outraged our people, equally with, and as the Dutch. Further, our people, as well as the Dutch, had now dissolved their Factory at Loho, and were come all thence. What Letters or Messages did they ever send thither afterwards? or how, and by what means maintained they this correspondence? Yet this was vnderstood, saith this Relation. How vnderstood? Perhaps by the *Gouernors* dreams: for that (as hee afterwards told M. *Welden*, *Hill*, and *Cartwright*, that came thither from Banda) was a motiue to him to examine the first Iapon, which was the beginning of the whole Proceffe.

G

The Author, hauing thus quit himselfe in this preface, proceedeth to the matter it selfe, first setting down the occasion and manner of the discouerie of this pretended plot, and then the confessions of the Iapons, and of the English: but he maketh no mention of any torture vsed vpon the Iapons that first confessed, nor of any other *indicium* or presumption to torture or examine that Iapon; but onely his curious questioning touching the setting and changing of the Watch, and of the number of the Souldiers in the Castle: which, what sufficient *indicium* and cause it was to torture a Souldier of their owne, that, seruing them, had reason to desire to vnderstand the course of their Watches, and the strength of the aid hee might expect, if any sudden attempt should happen in his quarter; is easily to be judged. And how this poor man, and the rest of his country-men were tortured, appeareth

appeareth in the English relation. Here also is concealed, by what maner and kinde of questions, this and the other Iapons were ledde along in their confessions, to make vp the plot iust as the Dutch had deuised it: as also, what other answers they made, before they were thus directed. That they, and the English both, confessed what the Dutch would haue them, is no doubt nor wonder, being so tormented and feared with torture; *Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor.* But what likelyhood or possibilitie there is of the truth of their confessions (if yet they confessed as is here related) may appear by that which hath beene alreadie discoursed in this point, towards the end of the English relation; which for breuitie sake is here forborne to be repeated. Yet some circumstances, which the Dutch Relation hath more than the English, deserue here to be examined. And first, that of *Abel Price* the English Barber, who is made the messenger & negotiator of this practice with the Iapons. It is true, that hee (and hee alone of all the English) had some kinde of conuersation with some of the Iapons; that is, he would dice and drinke with them, as he likewise did with other Blacks, and with the Dutch also. But is it credible, that *M. Towersson* would commit anie thing of moment, nay, so dangerous a matter as this, to a drunken debauched sot, who also (as the English that were there, constantly report) threatened to cut his, the said *Towerssons*, throat, for that he had punished him for his misdemeanors? Further, this Relation maketh this *Abel Price* confess, that all the English Merchants in the out-Factories, were priuie and accessarie to this pretended treason. Yet the Governour and Fiscall in their owne pro-

processe found *John Powle*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, and two others guiltlesse.

H

After *Price* his confession, he sets downe the generall substance of all the confessions in one body; where first having assigned Master *Towersson* a preface to the rest, to induce them to the exploit, he tells vs; that they made doubt of the point of possibilitie, (as well they might) knowing the weaknesse of their owne part, and impregnable strength of the Dutch, in comparison of theirs: for satisfaction of which their doubt, he saith, M. *Towersson* told them that hee had already won the Iapons within the Castle to his purpose, and that he would attempt this matter; not when the Dutch were at their full strength, and the English at the weakest, but would expect till the Gouvernour should bee some where abroad vpon some exploit, and some English ships, or ship at least, at Amboyna; the people whereof hee would vse in the enterprize: Likewise, he would send for the Factors and slaues of the other Factories, and should haue a supply from the Ternatans of Loho, of certaine Curricurries, &c.

I

Here he hath inrolled a goodly armie for this action; but let vs see the manner how they should haue executed their exploit. And first for the Iapons in the Castle: we must belecue, if this Author or his voucher say true, that Master *Towersson* had acquainted those, and wonne them to his plot, before he had imparted it to his owne countrey-men the English. And yet in the acts of the processe, *Emanuel Tomson* is recorded to haue confessed, that eight dayes after the consultation, Master *Towersson* told him, that hee had then sent out *Johnson* and *Price* to treat with the Iapons,

Japons, and winne their consent to this enterprise. But what should these (being all but ten) haue done? Marrie (saith the relation by and by) Master Tomer-son had ordeined, that eight of them should haue bin bestowed, by two in a company, vpon the foure points of the Castle, to kill all those that should resist them, and to take the rest prisoners. It must bee (therefore) here imagined, that the Dutch and their Mardikers in their Castle, being three or 4. hundred, would scorne to take the aduantage of sending fortie or fiftie, much more of an intire company, to any point of the Castle, but would combate with the Japons at euen hand by two at a time, and so giue the Japons leaue & respite to kill or take them by two, & by two. A sweet conceit! and such a seruice as perhaps hath bin somtimes represented vpon a stage, but neuer acted in surprise of a Castle in good earnest.

Thus we see how eight of the Japons wereto bee employed; what should the other two haue done? forsooth they should haue waited in the great chamber to murther the Gouvernor. Yea, but this relation told vs yer while, that this plot should haue been executed when the Gouvernor was abroad vpon some action. How then should these two Japons haue killed him in the Castle, at the same time? But wee see how all the Japons (that is, all the pretended partie of the English within the Castle) should haue beene occupied. Who should haue opened the gates to the English, and their other aydes? who should haue killed the Court of guard at the gate? These parts were left for them that were without: therefore let vs take a review of them, what they were. The relation mustered them to be fourteene English, where-

ofelepen were Merchants; one Steward of the house, one Taylor, and one Barber, to dresse the wounded, besides God knowes how many English shippers, slaues, and Ternatans. First, for the English Merchants, of what dexteritie they are to take Forts, is easily iudged; and in all the English house when it was seized by the Dutch, vpon this pretended treason, the whole prouision was but three swords, two hand-guns, and about halfe a pound of powder. Yea but the English ship or ships would haue brought both fitter men and better prouision. But how knew Master *Townson* that those of the English ships, when they came, would ioyne with him in this worke being so contrary to the Treatie, and it selfe so dangerous? or why did he not stay the opening of the plot till this ship or ships were come, that he might sweare the shippers also, or at least the chiefe Officers amongst them, and take their aduice? Is it possible that Master *Townson* was so slight, as to open his plot to all the English at Amboyna, yea to the Taylor and Barber; and, which is more, to the Iapons, so long before it was to be put in execution, and before hee knew the minde of his chiefe assistants, of whose arrivall he was so incertaine? Yea, but he was sure of the slaues of the English, and of the Ternatans of Loho, with their *Carrieries in quembet euentum*. This indeed is the remainder of the Armie; let vs view them. The slaues were, in all the English Factories, iust fixe in number, and all boyes. The Ternatans were enemies as well to the English as to the Dutch, as is before shewed in answer to the preamble. When were they reconciled? how cometh it, that in all the examinations of the English,

list, this point was not lifted, and somewhat confessed of it amidst so many tortures. There is no confession thereof in all the examinations; and M. Temerson in his expressly denied it, and was pressed no further. The truth is, the Gouvernor and Fiscall of Amboyna knew, that what-euer had been confessed in this point, would not haue been belceted by their owne people there; who knew well enough, that the first beginning of this breach between the Dutch & Ternatans at Lohb, was about the slaue of the English; and the outrages thereupon following, were done vpon the English, aswell as vpon the Dutch. Yet this Author seems to hope, that that may be beleued heer in Europe, w^{ch} had no colour at Amboyna.

K

Concerning the time of executing this plot, it was (as the relation saith) not yet prefixed, but left to the next meeting of the conspirators, which should be shortly holden, when *Gabriel Temerson* had prepared all things, &c. Heer was certainly a hot practice of treason, and worthy to be tearmed by this Author, An horrible conspiracy. They met together on New yeers day, and plotted as is before related: and now it was the five and twentieth of February, and not only nothing done all this *Interim*, but not so much as a new consultation. But this (forsooth) is the body and substance of the vniforme confession of all the English, by themselves seuerally subscribed. In the next place the Author relateth somewhat singular in M. Temerson's confession, as that he said, he was moued to this fact by hope and desire of honour & profit: and being demanded from whom heer attended this honour, and for whom he meant to hold the Castle, his answer was, That if he could haue compassed

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his

his proiect, he would forthwith haue giuen aduertisement thereof to the rest of his nation at Iaccatra (which now they haue christianed Batavia), and haue craved their aid: which if they had yeelded him, then hee would haue held the Castle for the English Company; and if not, then hee would haue kept it for himselfe, and haue vsed meanes to haue agreed with the Indians: and so, by the one means or other, would haue compassed the enterprize.

Here first is to be obserued, that hee would not (as this Author makes him speake) haue sent for aid to Iaccatra, vntill hee were first Master of the Castle: and yet in the generall confession before, it is said, he would attend the coming of some English shippes or ship, before hee would aduenture vpon the Castle.

Next, let the ambiguous and alternative resolution, hee said to be confessed by M. Towerfon, be considered in both the parts thereof, and it will appear, that no man in his wits would haue any such conceit as is heere pretended. What hope could M. Towerfon haue, that the President and English Councell at Iaccatra, liuing vnder command of the Dutch Fort there, and altogether subject to the Hollanders, durst ioyne in any such action, thereby to giue occasion to the Hollanders to arrest, torture, and condemn them of treason? M. Towerfon knew well enough, that about six moneths before, the Generall of the Dutch at Iaccatra, had caught at a very slight occasion to entrap the English President there: who hauing sent out two of his people in the night to the English Cow-house, to see what watch the Blacks in their seruice kept ouer their cattell; the said two English were apprehended by the Dutch soldiers, kept in prison seven dayes,

and

and charged, that they had said that they went the
Round: and one of them, being last examined, was
told by the Bailie (the officer of the Dutch in crimi-
nall causes), that his fellow had confessed, that they
had said they went the Round, and that by the Eng-
lish Presidents commission; and if he would not con-
fesse the same, he should be tortured: but the fellow,
being constant in the truth, came off at last without
torture. yet this was ~~it~~ enough to the English Pre-
sident and Councell, how the intent of the Dutch
was to entrap them vpon the least occasion: and this,
and other daily captious dealings of the Dutch at
Jaccatra, which were too long heer to recite, were all
advertised from time to time to M. Towerfon, who
therefore was sure he could expect no assistance from
them, that were themselves in such a predicament.
The other part of M. Towerfon's resolution is said to
have been, To keep the Castle for himselfe, and to a-
gree with the Indians, in default of helpe from the
English. This is yet more improbable than the for-
mer. Were the Portugals and Indians not able to
keep out the Dutch from Amboyna, when they had
no footing there; and shall Captaine Towerfon, with
twenty or thirty English and Iapons, without Ship
or Pinace, be able, with the help only of the poor na-
ked Indians, to drive them out, having already three
Castles in the Ilands of Amboyna, and at Cambello
hard by, all well furnished with men and provision,
besides their power of shipping, which makes them
as it were themselves Lords of the Sea? And yet how
could M. Towerfon hope to winne the Amboynezes
(the Hollanders sworn subiects) to his side? He might
rather assure himself, that after hee had mastered the

Hollanders (if yet that must be beleueed to be possible), the Amboynezes would haue surprised him, and cast him out (beeing so weakly provided to stand of himselfe), that so they might vterly free themselves from their seruitude. Heer also must be remembered, that this Author himselfe in his preambles saith, that the Indians themselves durst not vndertake any such great designe (as he there seimeth) against the State of Amboyna, without some great aid of some Nation of Europe, either of Spaniards, Portugals, or some other. Whereby is not onely confessed, how weak the Indians of themselves are; but withall it followeth, how small hope M. *Townson* might haue, being deserted of his owne Nation (as heer the case is put), to hold the Castle for himselfe by the help of those Indians, if yet hee could once haue wonne it. In a word, they that knowe the power of the Hollanders in Amboyna and thereabouts, and the weaknesse of the poore Indians there, will judge this conceit of M. *Townson's* (To keep the Castle for himselfe) to bee a mad plot, and for which, M. *Townson* should rather haue been sent to Bedlam, or the *Dullen Kist* (as the Dutch call it), than to the Gallows.

M

But this Author hath one voluntary confession, vpon which he taketh speciall hold; to wit, that M. *Townson*, after his examination was finished, beeing expostulated withall by the Dutch Gouvernour, and demanded whether this should haue been the recompence of his (the Gouvernour's) manifold courtesies towards him; answered with a deep sigh, Oh! were this matter now to doe, it should neuer bee done. "This voluntary confession and penitent acknow-
"ledgement, saith this Author, was made the ninth

" of

"of March, being the day when the execution was
to be done: but the examination of Towerfon was
ended the eight and twentieth of February, so many
daies before. But how shall we beleue this? For-
sooth, hee hath it out of the Acts of the Procelle of
Amboyna. Yea, but in these Acts are omitted many
materiall passages of these examinations, as is already
shewed: why may they not then be guilty of additi-
on, as well as of such mutilation and omission? But
let vs peruse the words of the Act it selfe, which are
these:

WEE, whose names are heerunto subscribed, do de-
clare vpon our troth, in stead of an oath, that
Gabriel Towerfon, after that hee had bene already
examined touching his said offence, and that the wor-
shipfull Governour Van Speult had expostulated with
him thereupon; asking him whether this should haue been
the recompence of his courtesies from time to time shewed
vnto him, the said Towerfon: thereupon hee, the said
Towerfon, with a deep sigh answered him, and said,
Oh! if this were to bee begun againe, it should neuer bee
done. Actum this ninth of March, in the Castle of Am-
boyna, and subscribed.

Harman van Speult.

Laurence de Maerschalck.

Clement Kerffboom.

Harman Crayeuanger.

Peter van Zanten.

Leonart Glocq.

Thus we see the Act it selfe, and this pretended vo-
luntarie confession of M. Towerfon; which is not de-
liuered

liuered vpon the credite of the Court or Councell at Amboyna (and yet how small that is, is before shew'd) but vpon the Attestation or Affidauit of the Gouvernour and fise others, the principall actors in this bloody Tragedie: And this not vpon their oath, but vpon their troth, or honest word (forsooth) instead of an oath. The time when these words were vttered by M. *Towerfon*, is not described by the day when he spake them, but only by the precedent Act of his examination. And yet the circumstance of time is not only an vsuall and customary solemnity, and requisite in all such Attestations; but also in a businesse of this nature altogether necessarie: as likewise in this case, that of the place is. For if these words were spoken in the place of torture, or incontinently after the examination ended, they are by their owne law, esteemed no more voluntarie, than the confession vpon the Racke it selfe. Neyther yet doth this Attestation affirme, that this confession was voluntarie. But this Author, vnconscionably reporting the date of the Attestation, for the time of the confession, collects it to be voluntary, because (as he saith) it was made the ninth of March, being so many dayes after his examination, which was taken the 28. of February. Can a man attest nothing but what was done vpon the very day when he maketh Affidauit? The Attestation saith, that these words were spoken by M. *Towerfon* after he had bin already examined. Why may not that haue been rather vpon the very day of his examination, than vpon the day when this Act was entred; if yet he euer spake anie such words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted: the contra-

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rie whereof is the more probable by all the circumstances of this businesse, truly set downe in the Relation of the English.

But in that this Author makes so much of this poor circumstance, of *M. Towersons* profession of sorrow for what was done, naming it a voluntarie confession; it is plain how destitute he was of voluntary confessions, and of all true and concluding circumstances. What? was there not a letter or other paper, to be found in all the Chests and Boxes of the English, so suddenly seised at Amboyna, Larica, Hirto, and Cambello, to discover this treason? nor amongst so manie complices of diuerse nations, a false brother to betray the rest, and accuse them voluntarily; but the processe must begin with the torture, & the Heathens confession vpon torture, be sufficient to bring Christians to torture? the debauched and notoriously infamous persons (such as *Price* was) to draw torture vpon the sober, orderly, and vntained? And yet this Relation it selfe confesseth, that *Price's* confession was drawne from him by the Examiners specifying of place, persons, and time vnto him. Certainly one of their owne Nation had reason to aduise, that more Aduocates might be sent ouer to the Indies, to ayde the accused, to make a legal answer; For, saith he, they goe to worke there so villanously and murderously, that the blood of the poore people cryeth to heauen for vengeance.

Demonstration to the Lords States, touching the government of the Maiors.

But why haue we no particular of any mans confession, but this of *Price* and *M. Towerson*; and all the rest blended together in one body? Did none of all the rest go farther than his fellowes, or confesse more

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than

than they? Where is *Sharrocks* confession, that hee was at Amboyna vpon New-yeares day, when tenne or twelue of the Dutch themselves witnessed he was at Hitto? Where is his confession of *Clarks* plot to goe to Macassar, to deale with the Spaniards there, to come and rob the small Factories? Where is *Collins* confession of another plot, about two moneths and a halfe before his examination, vndertaken by *Tomson*, *Johnson*, *Price*, *Browne*, *Fardo*, and himselfe? Where be the leading Interrogatories, that directed them to the accusation framed by the Dutch, lest otherwise there had beene as many seuerall treasons confessed, as persons examined? Not a word of all this, nor of a great deale more of this kinde, which is here in England proued by the oath of sixe credible persons, to haue passed in the examinations. Whereby appeareth, how faithfully the Dutch at Amboyna haue entred the Acts of this processe. Well, at last hee concludes the narration of the confessions, with the summing vp of the number and nations of the parties, that had thus confessed; which, he saith, were ten Iapons, foure-teeene English, and the Neatherlandish Maricho, or Captaine of the Slaues. By which last words, hee would giue the Reader occasion to thinke, that the fact was so cleere, and their owne proceeding so euen and iust, that they had executed one of their owne Neatherlanders for it. Which how true it is, is already declared in the conclusion of the English Relation. The truth is, this Captain of the Slaues was of the Portugall race, and born in Bengala. His verie name, *Augustine Perez*, sheweth, he was no Neatherlander.

N Having thus finished this relation, this Authour
pro-

proceedeth to a disputation: and taking notice of some aspersions in England cast vpon these proceedings at Amboyna, he diuideth them into two heads; the one, that the processe was without its due formalitie; the other, that there was excesse and extremitie vsed against the Conspirators. For the point of formalitie, he first taketh great paines to prooue, that the formalities of processe in Amboyna, are not therefore vnlawfull, because they agree not with our forme in England. Which labour he might haue spared: for no wise man will deny him this point. And such as shall be so ignorant as to blame the Dutch for varying from vs herein, were not worthy the answering. Herewithall also hee deduceth the title of the Lords States generall to the Soueraigntie of Amboyna; and so the Gouvernour of Amboynaes iurisdiction, in causes as well criminall as ciuill, to bee rightly grounded. Thence he concludes, that the Iappons being sworne seruants to the Dutch, and in their pay, were subiect to the iurisdiction of the Dutch Gouvernor. Then hee telleth vs, that the Authors and complices of murther and treason, are by the lawes of all nations to be punished with death; all which points may bee granted him without any preiudice to the cause of the English in this question.

At last he comes in particular to their case, and affirms, that the chiefe of the English there might not apprehend the English complices of this conspiracy, because themselves were complices of the fact. Which also may be granted in this point of apprehension, & safe custodie: but how it may proceed al-

so in the point of connusance, shall bee anon in due place examined.

In the meane time, this Author, to make the point of apprehension cleere beyond exception, saith, that the English were not apprehended vpon the first suspicion, when yet there was euidence, and *indicia* sufficient to doe it; but after the examination of all the Iapons and their ioynt confession, that the English, whom they specified by name and surname, had moued and hired them to this treason: yea, not vntill *Abel Price* had also confessed as much, and that all the English in the out-Factories were priuie thereunto. For answer hereof, that must be repeated which hath beene vpon other occasion before alleadged; that the first beginning of the processe, was by the torture, there being no sufficient euidence or *indiciū* to torture the Iapon, that onely sought to enforme himselfe of the course of the Watch, and of the strength of the Castle, wherein himselfe was a souldier: and so the whole *Series* of the examination proceeding from the confession of one tortured person, to apprehend and torture another, without other euidence, though it brought forth more confessions, and those with name and surname, and other circumstances, according as the Interrogatories (or rather directories) of the Gouvernour and Fiscall led the prisoners, was wholly against the forme and rule of all lawes of tortures;

*Scilicet in fabrica si praua est regula prima,
Cetera mendose fieri atque obstipa necesse est.*

But here must be answered an obiection that may be made against this, from another part of this relation, and must be answered thus, that the

on, that is, that some of the English confessed without or before torture; yea, this *Price* here mentioned, was either not tortured at all, or very lightly. Yea but he was shewed the tortured bodies of the poore Iapons, martyred with fire and water, and told, that vnlesse he would confesse that which they told him they had first confessed, he should be tortured as ill, or worse than they. This feare of torture is by their owne law, equalled to the torture it selfe, and consequently, the confession thereupon made no better *indiciu* or euidence to bring another man to the torture, than the confession made vpon the racke it selfe. Againe, it must be here remembered, that the very matter of *Price* his confession here mentioned, to wit, that all the English Merchants of the out Factories, were prinie to the pretended treason, was refuted by the processe of the Dutch themselves, that found *Powle*, *Ramsfey*, and two others of those Factories guiltlesse.

Next, this Author taketh notice of an obiection made in England against the iurisdiction of the Dutch Gouvernor, and his Councell at Amboyna, ouer the English there; because this power is, by the Treatie of the yeere, 1619. disposed of, and agreed to consist in the Councell of defence of both nations at Iaccatra. For information in which point this Author saith, he hath perused ouer all the seuerall articles of the said Treatie, and findeth in the 23. article, that the Fortresses were to remaine in the hands of them that then possessed them; and in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, that the Councell of defence hath no other power, but onely ouer the Fleet of defence, ouer the commerce, and finally,

ly, to tax the charges of maintenance of the Forts: But he could not see the thirtieth article; which orders, that all disputes that cannot be decided by the Councell of defence, should bee remitted into Europe; first, to the two companies there, and in default of their agreement, to the King and States. Why then was not this dispute so proceeded in? There is nothing in the former articles, to limit the Councell of defence; and this generall article appeareth to bee added by way of ampliacion, to provide for that which was not particularly and expressly cared for in the former. Which is most plaine by the words of the explanation vpon this thirtieth article, agreed vpon at the first, and subscribed by the Commissioners on both sides, *An. 1619.* where this course of proceeding is expressly directed, not only in disputes about the meaning of the Articles, but also about any other matter hapning in their common aboad. Since w^{ch} also the kings Ma: hath, vpon a smaller occasion than the life of his subiects, cleerly declared himself in the point of Soueraignty; That both nations in the Indies should wholly lay aside all pretence thereof ouer each other. Which declaration was sent to the Lords States Generall, and by them accepted before this bloody butchery was executed.

But if it were granted, that the Hollanders are absolute Lords of their partners the English in those parts, without respect to the Treatie, yet at least the Hollanders in *Amboyna* are bound to obserue the laws of the vnited Prouinces; for so saith this author himselfe. Do these allow to begin the proceesse at the torture, and to bring persons of honest fame to the racke, vpon others confession made in the torture?

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Doe their lawes allow of the leading interrogatories aboue mentioned, to direct the prisoner what to say, to auoide the torture? Where, in the vnited Prouinces, is that drowning with water, in vser or the torture with fire, vsed to *Johnson, Tomson, and Clarke?* or especially the splitting of the toes, and launcing of the breast, and putting in gun-powder, and then firing the same, whereby the body is not left intire, neither for innocency, nor execution? *Clarke and Tomson* were both faine to be carried to their execution, though they were tortured many dayes before.

Lastly, their confessions were contradictorie, apparantly false, and of things impossible to bee done, much lesse practised before by the said parties; and therefore ought not by their law to haue been belceued, nor the prisoners to haue beene condemned thereupon, without other sufficient *indicia* or euidence besides.

In the last place, this Author handleth the excesse of torture, whereof (hee taketh notice) there is much complaint in England; and saith, That the Lords States generall take great care to enforme themselves of all the passages of this businesse; and to that end haue desired to see all the letters, peeces, and papers that concerne this processe: by which it appeareth not, that there was any cruell torture vsed. But suppose the acts make no mention of them; is it any maruell that the Authours of this murtherous and tyrannous processe, being themselves the persons that also formed the acts, would omit those things that made against them? It is to be presumed also, that the acts kept by their people at Poloway in Banda, haue omitted many things of their processe,

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cesse, against the poore Polaroones, whom in August, 1622. being about sixe moneths before this execution of the English, their Gouvernor there vsed in like sort, as the Gouvernor of Amboyna did the English, and gaue him a modell and precedent of this processe. Which it will not bee amisse to relate briefly, because this Authour, in the next place, alleadgeth the mercifull disposition of the Netherlands nation in generall; to inferre thence, that it is vnlikely, that their Gouvernour at Amboyna was so cruell, as is reported in England.

Polaroon, one of the Islands of Banda, was in possession of the English at the time of the treaty, Anno 1619. and by the agreement was to remaine theirs. After the treaty came vnto the Indies, the Hollanders forbare publishing thereof in the Ilands of Banda, vntill they had taken Polaroon. But, knowing that it must be restored again, according to the treaty, they first take all courses to make the Iland little or nothing worth: they demolish & deface the Buildings, transplant the Nutmeg-trees, plucking them vp by the roots, and carrying them into their owne Ilands of Nera and of Poloway, there to bee planted for themselves; and at last finde a means to dispeople the Iland, and to leaue it so, as the English might make no vse of it, worth their charge of keeping; and that vpon this occasion: There was a yong man, the son of an Orankey, or a Gentleman in Polaroon, that had committed felony; for which, by the Lawes of his Country, he was to die. This fellow, to saue his life, fled to another Iland of Banda, called Rosinging, and there turned Christian: but quickly vnderstanding, that that would not make him safe from punishment, hee

hee went back secretly to his owne Countrey of Polaroon; and, hauing lurked there a few daies, tooke his passage for Nera, another Iland where the Dutch haue a Fort; and told the Dutch Gouvernor, that the Orankeys of Polaroon had conspired to massacre the Dutch, as well at Polaroon, as at Poloway, with help of the people of Seran, that should send ouer thirtie Curricurries for that purpose. Immediately vpon this *inditium* of this malefactor, certaine Prows or Fisher-boats of the Polaroons, that were fishing at Poloway, were seized, and the people made prisoners. Command was sent by the Dutch Gouvernor to Polaroon, that the Orankeys should come ouer to him, that there might be further inquisition made of this matter. The Priest of the Polaroons and seuenthy Orankeys instantly took a Prow or small vessell of their owne, and imbarcked themselves for Poloway. As they were at sea, and yet out of the sight of the Dutch Castle, they were met by a Fisher-boat of Bandanezes, and told, how all the rest were apprehended; and that, if they went to Poloway, they were all but dead men. Neuerthelesse, the Priest and the rest, although they had space and means to haue escaped to Seran and other places safe enough from the Hollanders, yet were so confident of their innocency, that they would needs to Poloway to purge themselves. Where, as soon as they were arriued, they were instantly carried prisoners to the Castle: and withall the Gouvernor, with a force of two hundred men, went presently for Polaroon; whence hee fetched all the rest of the Orankeys, and brought them prisoners to the same Castle. As soone as they were come, they were presently brought to the torture of

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water and fire, euen in the same sort as our people were afterwards at Amboyna; onely heerein differing, that of those at Poloway, two were so tortured, that they died in their tortures: the rest, beeing one hundred sixty two persons, were all, vpon their own forced confessions, condemned and executed. The Priest, when he came to the place of execution, spake these words in the Mallaian Tongue: All yee, great and small, rich and poor, black and white, look to it: we haue committed no fault. And when hee would haue spoken more, he was taken by the hands & feet, laid along, & cut in two by the middle with a sword. Forthwith, the Gouvernor caused the wiues, children, and slaues of those of Polaroon, to be all carried out of the Iland, and distributed in other Ilands subject to the Dutch; and so haue made a cleer Country for the English, where they may both plant and gather themselves, destitute of the help of any of the Countrey-people; without whom, neither the English nor Hollanders can maintaine their trade in the Indies. And yet this is not heer recited, to the end thereby to charge the Neatherlands Nation with those cruell proceedings, but the persons themselves that haue committed those barbarous tyrannies: Who, if wee shall belceue an Author of their owne, are not of the best of that Nation. For the Maiores (as this Author sayes) vse the Indies as a *Tucht-house* or Bridewell, to manage their unruly & vnthrifty children & kindred; whom when they cannot rule & order at home, they send to the Indies, where they are preferred to offices and places of gouernement. Yea, saith he, they prefer such to be Fiscals there, as neuer saw studie nor law. So that it is no maruell, that such persons proceed
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*Nootwendich
Discourse,
printed Ann.
1622. vnder
the name of
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not with that iustice and moderation as is vsed generally in the Low Countries, by the choyce of the Nation there. And this agreeth well with the report of our Merchants of credite, that came lately from Amboyna; who auerre, that, excepting the Gouvernour himselfe, who is well stept in yeares, of the rest of the Councell there, as well the Fiscall as others, there was scarce anie that had haire on their faces, yea, that most of them are lewd drunken debauched persons; and yet must be Iudges as well of our English, as the poor Indians there.

Now to returne to this Authors proofes, that there was no excesse vsed in the proceedings; at the last he taketh one argument by way of comparifon; from the Law of England to presse men to death: which he saith, hath much more cruelty than their course of torture, vsed by the Dutch in Amboyna; and is holden, as well by some authors of our owne nation as others, for damnable. How pertinentely is this matter of Pressing alleaged, for iustifying of their tortures, since no man in England is pressed for not confessing, which is the cause of torture in Dutchland: But the cause why any is pressed, is, for that he obstinately refuseth the tryall of his countrey, and challengeth the Iudges as incompetent, which the Law appointeth him: which hee doth (for the most part) to saue his goods, which, but by that ordinarie course of tryall, cannot be confiscate. What is this to the point of confession, for refusall whereof, the Dutch vse the Torture? And yet no man blameth them for proceeding according to the Law of their countrey herein; nor yet in their execution, when they breake the legges, armes and thighes of the malefactors,

lesactors, and then set them vpon a wheele on the end of a great pole, there to languish to death : an execution farre more direfull than the English pressing, which is so suddenly done, and so seldome vsed. But why doth he not name the Author of our owne or foraine Writers, which condemne this kinde of execution ? Let him do it yet, and he shall haue moe Authors of his owne Countrey, that condemne their course of tortures : and yet the English complain not of the course in generall, but of the vnlawfull vse of it ; contrary to the rules of the Lawes euen of the v-nited Prouinces. Lastly, in this point the Author pretendeth, that little or no torture was vsed in this Processe. What the torture was, and in what degree, appears in the English Relation: but he can find little or none mentioned in the Acts. What if he will not find it? or what if their Officers of Amboyna haue conceal'd it? shall we not beleue those that suffred it themselves? shall we not beleue those, that beeing themselves acquitted, yet heard the cryes, and saw the bodies of *Johnson, Clarke, and Tomson*, and haue confirmed their relation by their corporall oathes? As for the Act of the five & twentieth of February, which this Authour hath here transcribed; it cannot be a true Act: for therein it is said, that that day all the English were examined one by one, and some before torture, and some after confessed the fact. Whereas it appeareth not onely by the English Relation, but by this very Author in the precedent page, that they were not all examined the same five and twentieth day of February; but that the examination continued six daies together, euen to the third of March inclusiue. How then could the Act of the five and twentieth of February

February haue all their confessions? By this may appeare, what credit may be giuen to these Acts, or else to this Author. Here also by the way he tels vs of the deliberation of their Councell; whether the punishment of the fact might be respited, or the cause removed: wherein it was resolved, that execution must needs be done in the place of the delict, for example sake; and might not bee respited, for feare lest the conspirators (as hee tearmes them) might haue more dependances than yet were knowne; and in particular, the Ternatans and other Indians about Amboyna. A poore pretext: as if, hauing all the English in irons aboard their seuerall ships, they should need to fear their joyning with the Ternatans. But it may be, they feared some English ships also to come thither: for so they had made their owne people beleue. And therefore, two ships being descried at sea, the Dutch and their free Burghers cried out, That there were the English that should haue holpen to take the Castle: but when they arriued, they proued to bee two shippes of the Hollanders come from Iaccatra; wherein was a Letter from the President of the English there, to call away Captain *Towersson* and all the English, from Amboyna to Iaccatra. Which Letter was opened and read by the Dutch Gouvernor, while our people were yet in prison, and not executed; and might well haue secured him, that there was no further danger to bee feared of the English aids of shipping, what-euer the English prisoners had through torture confessed.

At last the Author comes to the sentence it selfe, transcribing out of the Acts of the ninth of March, That the Colledge of Iudges being then competent,

and calling vpon the name of the Lord to asfist them in this mournfull assembly, to preſide in their hearts, and inſpire them with equity and iuſtice; proceeded to ſentence, &c. Who knoweth not, but the Act may be thus formed, and yet no prayer at all made: or if there were any ſuch prayer, yet the proceedings well weighed, will ſhew it to be but like *Iezabels* Faſt, the preparatiue to the falſe iudgement againſt *Naboth*. Neyther will the wiſe and indifferent Iudges of this whole matter, conceiue the better of the cauſe, for the hypocriticall formalities therein obſerued.

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Laſt of all, he concludes his treatiſe with a iuſtification, yea an Elogie and commendation of the whole proceedings of the Dutch at Amboyna againſt the Engliſh; not finding the leaſt to be blamed in the Dutch, but aggrauating the crime of the Engliſh very ridiculous, becauſe (for ſooth) that this plot among other things, was againſt the wealth & aduantage of the Netherlands Eaſt India company; as if a conſpiracy of this kinde (if any ſuch had bin) muſt needs bee treaſon; or as if the intent onely in any crime but treaſon, were capitall.

Thus haue we examined this ſtrained iuſtification of that moſt barbarous and execrable proceſſe of Amboyna; conſiſting of a preamble, full of falſe and forged ſuſpicions; a narration of the fact, fraught with ridiculous abſurdities, contrarieties, and impoſſibilities; & laſtly, of a diſpute of impertinences, with concealement of the maine grounds of the Engliſh griefs. All which veriſieth that of *Papinian*, That Parricides are more eaſily committed than defended.



